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The outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist cosmology in the Kālacakra tantra

Newman, John Ronald, Ph.D.

The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1987

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A dissertation entitled

THE OUTER WHEEL OF TIME:

VAJRAYĀNA BUDDHIST COSMOLOGY IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA

submitted to the Graduate School of the

University of Wisconsin-Madison in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

JOHN RONALD NEWMAN

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THE OUTER WHEEL OF TIME:

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by

JOHN RONALD NEWMAN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
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shared with me his vast knowledge of ancient religions and greatly influenced my approach to the Kālacakra. My wife Beth supported and encouraged my research in many ways great and small. Finally, I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to my teacher Professor Geshe Lhundub Sopa. Whatever I have understood of Buddhism is the result of his instruction and example.

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ABSTRACT

THE OUTER WHEEL OF TIME:

VAJRAYĀNA BUDDHIST COSMOLOGY IN THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA

John Ronald Newman

Under the supervision of Professor Geshe Sopa

The Kālacakra (Wheel of Time) tantra is a system of Vajrayāna Buddhist mysticism that developed in India during the 11th century. Like all forms of Vajrayāna Buddhism, the Kālacakra utilizes theurgy as a path of soteriological apotheosis. The basic concept underlying the Kālacakra system is the ancient idea of the identity of the macrocosm (the universe) and the microcosm (the soul). Cosmos and soul form an integrated entity that serves as the basis for the soteriology of the Kālacakra yoga. Thus the entire subject matter of the Kālacakra tantra is presented under five categories: cosmos, soul, initiation, practice, and gnosis. The Kālacakra is also described in terms of three Kālacakras: the Outer, Inner, and Other Kālacakras. The Outer Kālacakra is the cosmos; the Inner Kālacakra is the soul; and the Other Kālacakra is the path of apotheosis consisting of initiation, practice, and gnosis.

This dissertation focuses on the Outer Kālacakra. It consists of two parts, an introduction and a translation.

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Part I contains nine chapters: the general characteristics of tantra, unique features of Buddhist tantra, the Vajrayāna's place within Buddhism, methodology in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism, chronological problems in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism, the history of the Kālacakra in India, a survey of the Kālacakra tantra, an analysis of the translation, and a bibliographical survey of previous study of the Kālacakra. Part II consists of a translation from the Sanskrit and Tibetan of Śrī Kālacakra I.1-27, 128-170 and Vimalaprabhā I.1.1-9.27, 10.128-149. The Śrī Kālacakra (together with its commentary the Vimalaprabhā) is a massive esoteric encyclopedia. Cosmology is the principal topic treated in the translation, but a number of other subjects are also dealt with at greater or lesser length - theology, soteriology, mythology, hermeneutics, ontology, chronology, armaments, and eschatology - to mention a few.

The Kālacakra represents the culmination and final synthesis of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. Its syncretic approach to the path to enlightenment make its literature a treasure trove of philosophical, historical, and philological information. This dissertation makes a substantial portion of this information easily accessible to interested scholars, and serves as a prolegomenon for further study of the Kālacakra tantra.

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TAN NÂSTI YAN NODITAM ĀDIBUDDHE

That which is not stated in the Ādibuddha does not exist.

Guṇabharaṇī 4b/2

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Introduction

The Kālacakra is a system of Vajrayāna Buddhist mysticism. Because it is Buddhist, it is primarily a soteriology - a means for an individual to obtain salvation from the undesirable vicissitudes of life. Like Vajrayāna Buddhism in general, the Kālacakra is mystical and gnostic. Through the practice of esoteric tantric rites, the practitioner of the Kālacakra seeks a special gnosis that is able to effect his transformation into an enlightened being, a Buddha.

The Sanskrit word kālacakra literally means "the wheel (cakra) of time (kāla)"; by extension it means a given revolution of time, a cycle.[1] In the Kālacakra system this meaning is sublimated and used as a metaphor for gnosis:

> kālo 'kṣarasukhajñānam upāyaḥ karuṇātmakaḥ/
> jñeyākāraṃ jagac cakraṃ śrīprajñā śūnyatātmikā//
>
> Time is the gnosis of unchanging bliss - the method consisting of compassion. The Wheel is the world in the aspect of an object of knowledge - the splendid wisdom consisting of emptiness.//
>
> (Vimalaprabhā I.1.99)

---

[1] For other applications of the term kālacakra see Ahirbudhnyasaṃhita 33.9; Tantrarājatantra 28.5, 10, 19. In both of these texts kālacakra represents the entire universe of temporal existence. In the former text "the wheel of time" is an epithet of Viṣṇu's discus Sudarśana.

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Likewise:

> karuṇāśūnyatāmūrtiḥ kālaḥ saṃvṛtirūpiṇī/
> śūnyatā cakram ity uktaṃ kālacakro 'dvayo mataḥ//
>
> The image of compassion and emptiness, Time possesses phenomenal form. Emptiness is called "the Wheel." The Kālacakra is accepted as nondual.//
> (Vimalaprabhā I.1.75)

In other words, the Kālacakra is a nondual gnosis, a mind characterized by unchanging bliss realizing the emptiness of all phenomena.

In the Kālacakra tantra the term kālacakra refers to a number of things: the universe as it is perceived by ordinary beings and by Buddhas, the path process explained in the Kālacakra tantra, and the state of Buddhahood produced by that path. This introduction is intended to provide the reader with a context within which he can approach the Vajrayāna in general, and the specific world view portrayed in the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā.

Chapter 1 describes the general characteristics of tantra. Chapter 2 presents some of the features that distinguish Buddhist tantra - the Vajrayāna - from Indian tantra as a whole. Chapter 4 considers methodological issues in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism. Chapter 5 examines problems encountered in dating the texts and masters of the Vajrayāna. Chapter 6 presents the history of the Kālacakra tradition in India. Chapter 7 surveys the entire Kālacakra system. Chapter 8 provides a

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synopsis of the contents of the translation given in Part II. Finally, Chapter 9 presents a bibliographical survey of previous study of the Kālacakra.

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Chapter 1: Tantra

Tantra is a pan-Indian phenomenon. From the middle of the first millennium of our era onwards, all three of the major Indian religious traditions - Buddhism, Hinduism, and Jainism - developed tantric modes of religious practice, and tantra spread throughout the Indian subcontinent.[1] Sanskrit dictionaries give more than thirty meanings for the word tantra, but the sense closest to what we are concerned with is "a religious treatise teaching magical and mystical formularies for the worship of the deities or the attainment of superhuman power."[2] In fact, this definition is too narrow, because tantra refers primarily to certain systems of mysticism and not merely to the texts that teach them.

Tantra encompasses a diverse body of beliefs and practices ranging from mundane magic to the most subtle metaphysics. This diversity makes tantra particularly

---

[1] For the most recent research on Hindu tantra see: Goudriaan (1981), and Gupta (1979). I am not aware of any studies of Jaina tantra, and only know of its existence from conversations with scholars of Jainism.

[2] Apte 759. "Tantra" in this sense has entered English as a loanword from Sanskrit. This and other Sanskrit loanwords in English - e.g., Buddha, Dharma, Sangha, vajra, mantra, mandala, yoga, yogi, bodhisattva, stupa, sutra - are treated as English words and are not italicized or given diacritics in this thesis.

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difficult to define. Louis de la Vallée Poussin states the problem as follows:

> Tantrism, properly so called, bears a twofold character; on the one hand, it is a systematization of the vulgar magical rites and it has existed under this form for many centuries in India and in Buddhism itself, together with its formulas and its pantheon; on the other hand, it is a 'theurgy,' a highly developed mysticism styled Vajrayāna; under this form Tantrism is an innovation in Buddhism (de la Vallée Poussin 1921:195).

For the purpose of this introduction we will define tantra as 'theurgy utilized as a path of soteriological apotheosis.'[3]

All tantric traditions, whether Buddhist or Hindu, agree that the practice of tantra begins with the guru. A verse cited in the Guṇabharaṇī expresses the Buddhist tantric attitude towards the guru:

> gurur buddho gurur dharmo guruḥ saṃghas tathaiva ca/
> gurur vajradharaḥ śrīmān gurur evâtra kāraṇam//[4]
>
> The guru is the Buddha, the guru is the Dharma, and the guru is the Sangha as well. The guru is splendid Vajradhara, and the guru is the fundamental cause here as well.

The guru is the fundamental cause of the practitioner's spiritual development. As a teacher he embodies the

---

[3] Here I follow Elvin W. Jones in taking apotheosis "in its simple literal sense of transformation or metamorphosis from a human into a divine being" (Sopa 1985:154 [n. 21]).

[4] Guṇabharaṇī 3a/2-3.

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doctrines that enable the disciple to gain liberation from samsara.

The guru serves as the door for the yogi to enter into the practice of tantra. One can independently study the texts of the tantras and their commentaries, but without a guru's oral instruction and exemplification of the tantric experience, the books remain mere words on a page, and the knowledge gained from reading them will most likely be an obstacle to progress on the tantric path. Indeed, once a disciple has accepted the authority of a guru, the guru's instructions supercede everything else, including the textual tradition.

The first step on the tantric path is the yogi's selection of a guru. This stage of the path is perhaps the most dangerous because, we are told, false gurus abound, and their instructions lead one to hell. Likewise, it is up to the guru to be certain of the sincerity and aptitude of the student - the guru is responsible for the misdeeds of his disciples. Thus, it is very important that the would-be practitioner and the guru properly examine each other before entering into a formal guru-disciple relationship.

Once the disciple has selected a guru, and the guru has accepted the disciple as a student, the education of the disciple begins. The first truly tantric element in

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this process is the guru's initiation of the disciple. In the Hindu context this is usually referred to as dīkṣā, whereas Buddhists most often call it abhiṣeka. Both of these terms refer to the same thing, and can be translated as "initiation."

A tantric initiation is a ritual induction of the disciple into a tantric family.[5] Within the family the guru is the father or mother, and the disciples are brothers and sisters. This family, or cult, provides a social environment for the disciple's spiritual advancement.

Another aspect of tantric initiation is that it consecrates the disciple. In the Buddhist tantras many elements of the initiation rituals are explicitly modeled on the ancient rites of the rājasūya, the royal consecration (cf. Snellgrove 1959b). Just as the royal consecration empowers the crown prince to attain the status of king, the tantric initiation empowers the disciple to attain the state of the tantric deity.

This identification of the disciple with the deity (i.e., the guru as the deity) is the most important

---

[5] kula; rigs. Kula is an important term in both Hindu and Buddhist tantra - it is in effect the name of the entire śākta tradition of Hindu tantra. Goudriaan (1981:18) thinks this might be a borrowing from Buddhist sources.

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function of a tantric initiation. During the initiation process the guru first identifies himself with the disciple's particular chosen deity (iṣṭadevatā; 'dod pa'i lha). Then, gradually, he introduces the disciple to the deity's abode (mandala in Buddhism; yantra in Hinduism), his divine form, speech (mantra), and mind (gnosis). Finally, the guru ritually transforms the disciple into the deity. He does this by conferring on the disciple emblems or symbolic clothing, by placing seed syllables (bīja) on the energy centers of the disciple's body, by teaching the disciple the sacred speech (mantra) of the deity, and by bestowing on the disciple an experience of the deity's gnosis.

Initiation introduces the disciple to the tantric path, and is a necessary prerequisite. During the initiation ceremony the guru ritually generates an experience of the divine within the disciple, and plants seeds for his eventual complete development of enlightenment. However, it is incumbent upon the disciple to practice the mysteries revealed in the initiation rites and to develop his own realization of their meaning. Throughout this process the guru gives the disciple a graded course of practices and checks on his progress.

Tantric practice is called sādhana, and the foundation of practice is discipline. Either prior to or

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during the initiation rites, the yogi takes up a physical, ethical, and intellectual discipline prescribed by the guru. Adherence to this discipline is fundamental to the practice of tantra; lapses in it make the yogi's spiritual progress impossible.

Tantric practice can be divided into two parts: formal ritual or meditative sessions, and all other activities. In the beginning the yogi is likely to practice formally during only a small proportion of his day, gradually increasing the period until it dominates his life. Once he has become a perfect adept, the distinction of practice and ordinary behavior disappears.

It is not possible to sharply differentiate ritual and meditation in tantra. To a certain extent the proper performance of an external tantric ritual is dependent on the performer's attitude; at the same time, tantric meditations are arranged in a ritualistic format. The difference is a matter of degree: some tantric rites require relatively little thought on the part of the performer to be effective, whereas some meditations involve no external ritual activity at all.

A formal session of tantric practice is likely to begin with the creation of a protective circle. This circle serves as a magical barrier preventing malicious obstructors, human or otherwise, from interfering with the

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performance of the practice. Once protected, the yogi produces an abode for the chosen deity. (This can a physical object, such as a painted mandala or yantra, or it can be imaginary.) The practitioner invokes the deity invites it to enter its abode, and worships it there. Then the yogi requests the deity to enter into himself, and the yogi thus becomes identical with the deity. Having become transformed into the deity, the yogi performs rituals, meditations, or both, that are designed to produce a desired result. This can be a mundane goal, such as the obtainment of wealth and power or the destruction of enemies; or it can be a transcendental aim such as spiritual liberation. When this portion of the session is completed, the yogi performs concluding rites.

Between formal sessions the yogi should imagine that all of his daily activities, eating, sleeping, talking, and so forth, are expressions of his service to the deity. In this way the practitioner's entire life becomes yoga- the process of union with the deity. When the yogi's practice of yoga is perfected he gains union with his chosen deity. In attaining a state of divinity, the yogi gains divine qualities such as spiritual power, gnosis, and liberation from samsara.

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Chapter 2: Unique Features of Buddhist Tantra

The preceding brief sketch describes tantra in terms broad enough to be applicable to all forms of systematized tantra, Hindu and Buddhist.[1] Buddhist tantra, like tantra in general, is 'theurgy utilized as a path of soteriological apotheosis.' However, the Vajrayāna is Buddhist, specifically Mahāyāna Buddhist, and certain features of Mahāyāna Buddhism set the Vajrayāna apart from the tantric systems of other traditions. The following observations are uncritically presented from the point of view of Buddhist dogma. It goes without saying that they would be vociferously rejected by the non-Buddhist tantric traditions. Unfortunately, the study of tantra is in its infancy, and no reliable comparative research has yet been done.

All forms of Buddhist practice, whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna, are based on renunciation of samsara - worldly

---

[1] With regards to one point in particular I have doubts that this model is workable. In Buddhist tantra mundane magic - alchemy, necromancy, ritual murder and seduction, and so forth - is, theoretically at least, always sublimated into a spiritual path. I do not know if this is universally the case in the Hindu tantric traditions.

Another issue I avoid altogether here is the relationship between what we might call "popular tantra" and tantra as incorporated in formal religious traditions. Many tantric practices predate brahmanism, not to mention Buddhism, and are not inherently religious in nature. It may be the case that "tantra" is simply an Indian name for theurgical magic.

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existence bound up in the passions of desire, hatred, ignorance, and so forth. From the Buddhist perspective the followers of other religious traditions are unable to transcend samsara because they misunderstand its true nature. Without the correct understanding of the nature of samsara one may temporarily suppress samsaric propensities by means of a worldly path of meditation, but there is no way to totally eradicate them. Thus, even though a non-Buddhist tāntrika gains what he believes to be liberation, he is still bound to samsara by subtle misconceptions. Although the non-Buddhist yogi may obtain rebirth in one of the formless realms, and remain there for eons absorbed in samadhi, he will fall from that state due to the eventual ripening of samsaric propensities. In brief, Vajrayāna Buddhists hold that tantra as practiced by non-Buddhists is merely a worldly path, and is unable to effect the practitioner's liberation.

A corollary of the preceding point is the difference between Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantric deities. Vajrayāna Buddhism presents an extraordinarily complex pantheon, but its deities can be divided into two basic classes: worldly deities and transcendental deities. Worldly deities may be propitiated in order to gain various kinds of mundane benefits, but the ultimate goal of Vajrayāna practice is attainment of the state of a

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transcendental deity, a Buddha. Vajrayāna Buddhists hold that the deities of non-Buddhist tantric traditions, notably Śiva and Viṣṇu, are mere worldly gods trapped in samsara. Although they are powerful, and can satisfy worldly wishes, their status is an unsuitable goal for religious practice.

Because the Vajrayāna is a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, the primary motivation for practicing it is bodhicitta- the desire to obtain perfect Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings. A Buddha, by definition, is one who has eliminated all of his own defects and perfected all good qualities. Only a Buddha has the wisdom, power, and compassion necessary to be able to most effectively help sentient beings in accordance with their own dispositions. Non-Buddhist tantric yogis, on the other hand, strive merely for their own liberation, and are not altruistically motivated.

The philosophical basis for the practice of the Vajrayāna is the Madhyamaka view expounded by Nāgārjuna.[2]

---

[2] This point requires some qualification. Tibetan scholars have told me it is possible to accomplish the generation process while holding the Cittamātra view, but that practice of the completion process requires the Madhyamaka view (the two "processes" will be described later). Since the two processes only appear in the anuttarayoga class of tantras, either view would support the practice of the lower classes of tantra. In any case, all of the Vajrayāna masters whose philosophical position can be determined with any degree of certainty appear to

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Madhyamaka can be boiled down to a single statement: all phenomena are devoid of own-being because they originate in dependence on causes and conditions. Madhyamaka means "the middle," or "the Middle Way," and it attempts to avoid the two philosophical extremes of nihilism and eternalism. Because Madhyamaka asserts that dependently-originated phenomena exist, it avoids the extreme of nihilism. Because phenomena are devoid of a self, or own-being, they are able to function causally; thus, Madhyamaka escapes the extreme of eternalism. The importance of this view within Vajrayāna Buddhism cannot be overestimated. Vajrayāna Buddhists hold that their special view of reality greatly distinguishes their practice of tantra from that of non-Buddhists. The Hindu tantric traditions adhere to Vedanta, Sankhya, or a mixture of both. According to Mādhyamikas, these positions entail both nihilism and eternalism because they are unable to offer a coherent account of causality.

Buddhist tantra and non-Buddhist tantra can be profitably compared because they possess so many common

---

have followed the Madhyamaka or, more frequently, Madhyamaka containing a substantial admixture of Yogācāra ideas. See Ruegg (1981:104-118).

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features.[3] Both traditions originated and developed in India, and thus presuppose a common Indian world view. In particular, both traditions are "tantric" - by far the greatest portion of their beliefs and practices are identical. Nevertheless there are crucial differences between the two that derive from their distinct philosophical and religious underpinnings. When serious comparative study of Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantra begins scholars will need to be cautious in order to avoid reducing one to the other.

---

[3] To speak of "non-Buddhist tantra" as though it was a unified whole is merely a convenient reductionism. There is probably as much diversity within the non-Buddhist tantric traditions as there is within tantra as a whole.

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Chapter 3: The Vajrayāna's Position Within Buddhism

Vajrayāna, "the Adamantine Vehicle," is a traditional name for Buddhist tantra.[1] It is synonymous with Mantrayāna, "the Mantra Vehicle."[2] The word vajra has a number of meanings, but in the tantras the most common usage of vajra is in the sense of "adamant." Sekoddeśa 164a says:

abhedyaṃ vajram ity uktam

/rdo rje mi phyed ces par brjod/[3]

---

[1] E.g., Guhyasamāja 15.100b, 18.52d.

[2] Some Japanese scholars distinguish Mantrayāna from Vajrayāna (cf. Winternitz 1933a:400, citing B. Nanjio). They take Mantrayāna as referring to the doctrines taught in the tantras of the Shingon sect, primarily the Mahāvairocana and the Tattvasaṃgraha. Vajrayāna, they say, indicates tantric teachings such as those found in the Guhyasamāja, in which erotic elements play an important role. Snellgrove, too, distinguishes Mantrayāna from Vajrayāna (Snellgrove 1987:129, 279). (I will discuss Snellgrove's view later.) I am not aware of any traditional source for this terminological distinction. The Vimalaprabhā treats these terms as synonyms, as does the Indo-Tibetan tradition in general (cf. de Jong 1984:92-93; Hopkins 1977:105-110).

Some Indian scholars (e.g. B. Bhattacharyya and H.P. Shāstri), and others following them, have divided Buddhist tantra into three yānas: Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna, and Sahajayāna (cf., e.g., Dasgupta 1946:24; Dasgupta 1950:52-53, 64-69; Renou 1953:596). I have not encountered the latter two terms in any traditional source, and can only conclude they are neologisms. The Kālacakra, in any case, is merely one system within the Vajrayāna, and I agree with Kvaerne that "the distinction between Sahajayāna, Kālacakrayāna, and Vajrayāna is quite artificial" (Kvaerne 1975:88 [n. 1]).

[3] Sekoddeśa 164a & c are identical to Hevajra I.i.4ab.

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Vajra is called "indivisible."

The Vajrayāna is a vehicle because it is the method that transports the practitioner to Buddhahood. It is vajra, adamant, because it is the indivisible union of wisdom and method. Nāgārjuna explains in Pañcakrama V.8:

> prajñopāyasamāpattyā jñātvā sarvaṃ samāsataḥ/
> yatra sthito mahāyogī tad bhaved yuganaddhakam//
>
> When a great yogi obtains the absorption of wisdom and method, knowing everything in its totality, he dwells in the state of integration.

When wisdom - the realization of emptiness, and method- great bliss, are perfectly integrated in a nondual fashion, the yogi has achieved the goal of the Vajrayāna, Buddhahood.

Western scholars now generally accept that the Vajrayāna is an authentic Buddhist tradition.[4] However, there is still considerable confusion with respect to the Vajrayāna's place within Buddhism as a whole. In most introductory books on Buddhism one finds statements like the following:

> Buddhist Tantra was a radical departure from the classical Buddhist tradition... Mantras were so much a part of Tantric meditation that Tantra...received the alternate name Mantrayāna, the Mantra Vehicle or Course. To call the use of mantra a yāna, or vehicle, accorded it the dignity of being a legitimate, distinct path to salvation (Robinson 1977:117 & 118).

---

[4] As A.K. Warder notes: "If we accept the Madhyamaka as Buddhism we may accept the Atiyoga" (Warder 1980:505).

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The first assertion, that Vajrayāna was a radical departure from the classical Buddhist tradition, requires some definition. We may assume that by "the classical Buddhist tradition" the author intends the Buddhist tradition that was contemporary with the origin of the Vajrayāna in India. By the middle of the first millennium A.D. the main stream of Buddhism in India was the Mahāyāna as formulated by Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, propounded by such authorities as Candrakīrti, Bhāvaviveka, Śāntideva, Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīla, Haribhadra, and so forth.[5]

Cecil Bendall wonders "whether [the Vajrayāna] teachings were officially received," and adds that "one would be only too glad to discover a contemporary denunciation of them" (Bendall 1903:5 [n. 2]). Of course there was no Buddhist Curia in India to determine questions of orthodoxy, but in general one can say the Vajrayāna was accepted, even adopted, by the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition as a whole. Omitting the earlier, and more problematic, individuals among the masters listed

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[5] This is not to deny that the Hīnayāna traditions continued, or to depreciate such scholarly achievements as the works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. However, the major developments in Indian Buddhism during the first half of the first millennium took place within the Mahāyāna.

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above,[6] Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla adhered to the Vajrayāna,[7] and one might infer that Haribhadra did as well.[8] The reason Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist masters did not denounce the Vajrayāna was that from around the 8th century onwards most of them followed the Vajrayāna.[9]

Yukei Matsunaga has pointed out that "[Buddhist] Tantrism is not, as is commonly assumed, a third yāna opposed to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna" (de Jong 1984:93). From the 8th century commentator Buddhaguhya through to the present, the Vajrayāna tradition is unanimous that it is part of the Mahāyāna, and that it is not a distinct

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[6] The question of whether or not Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, Śāntideva, and other Mādhyamikas were also followers of the Vajrayāna is bound up in the issue of how many masters bore these names. For discussion of this problem, see Ruegg (1981:104-106); (1982:510-512, 514-516).

[7] Cf. Ruegg (1981:106).

[8] There is not, to my knowledge, any reference to Vajrayāna in Haribhadra's works. However, this argument from silence may be outweighed by the facts that Haribhadra seems to have been a disciple of Śāntarakṣita (Ruegg 1981:101-102), and that Haribhadra's own disciple, Buddhajñānapāda, founded the Jñānapāda tradition of Guhyasamāja exegesis (Ruegg 1981:102).

[9] This is not to say that all Indian Buddhists accepted the Vajrayāna. For a fascinating attack on the Mahāyāna in general, and the Vajrayāna in particular, written c. 1400 by the Theravāda scholar Devarakṣita, see Chandra (1984:106-110).

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path to salvation independent of the Mahāyāna as a whole.[10]

The Mahāyāna is divided into two systems or modes of practice: the pāramitānaya and the mantranaya - "the pāramitā system" and "the mantra system."[11] The first of these, the pāramitā system, is the common Mahāyāna path that entails the practice of the six (or ten) pāramitās, or "perfections."[12] By gradually practicing the pāramitās

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[10] The Guhyasamāja repeatedly refers to its practices as belonging to the Mahāyāna (cf., e.g., 5.2-3, 6; 7.1). Matsunaga refers to a number of commentators propounding the view that the Vajrayāna is part of the Mahāyāna (de Jong 1984:92-93). Matsunaga's list could be extended indefinitely: see Tsong kha pa's sNgags rim chen mo (Hopkins 1977:105-110). The Vimalaprabhā is unambiguous in placing the Vajrayāna within the general Mahāyāna (cf., e.g., Vimalaprabhā I.4.1, I.5.1).

[11] Cf. de Jong (1984:92-93); Snellgrove (1987:118, 121-122). Sanskrit naya, like its Tibetan translation tshul, means "behavior, course of conduct, conduct, way of life, course, method, manner, a system, doctrine" and so forth (Apte 879).

There are a number of other names for the two divisions of the Mahāyāna; cf. Hopkins (1977:105-110). I would only mention here that in the passages of the sNgags rim chen mo cited below, Tsong kha pa sometimes refers to the pāramitānaya as the pāramitāyāna, and the mantranaya as the mantrayāna. In this instance naya and yāna are virtual synonyms.

[12] The Mahāyāna is not, as is often asserted, a rejection of the Hīnayāna path. Indian Buddhism, like Indian religions in general, rarely abandoned anything that was useful. The basic structures of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna paths are identical, and in any case the bodhisattva must fully master the śrāvaka- and pratyekabuddha-yānas in order to be able to help people predisposed to follow those vehicles. The main differences between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna are the

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over a period of three great eons, the bodhisattva completes his collections of merit and gnosis, and eventually obtains Buddhahood.

The mantra system - i.e., the Vajrayāna - is based on and subsumes the pāramitā system. It too entails the development of the six pāramitās of charity, ethical conduct, patience, energy, concentration, and wisdom. However, it differs from the pāramitā system in that the tantric methods utilized in its path allow the bodhisattva to obtain Buddhahood much more quickly, even within a single human lifetime in the case of extraordinary individuals.

In the sNgags rim chen mo Tsong kha pa explains the reasoning behind the division of the Mahāyāna into two vehicles:

> How is the Mahāyāna divided into two vehicles? It is not from the point of view of the generation of bodhicitta, because bodhisattvas who engage in the practice of the mantra system and those who engage in the practice of the pāramitā system are similar in doing so in order to obtain perfect Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings. And therefore, since there is also no difference in the quality of the enlightenment they strive for, it is also incorrect to divide the Mahāyāna into two vehicles

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motivations with which they are practiced and the goals they achieve. Whereas the Hīnayāna practitioner seeks a cessation of suffering primarily for himself alone, the Mahāyāna practitioner aims at Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings.

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> from that point of view.[13] The two systems are also not distinguished from the perspective that one has and the other does not have the view that realizes the reality of phenomena, for there is no view that is superior to Ārya Nāgārjuna's establishment of the intention of the definitive meaning sutras - the Prajñāpāramitā and so forth - in his Madhyamakaśāstra. Even if there was a superior view, it would be insufficient to establish the existence of a separate vehicle. For example, even though there are both followers of Madhyamaka and followers of Cittamātra within the pāramitā system of the Mahāyāna, they do not have separate vehicles. Furthermore, both the pāramitā system and the mantra system have the practice of the six perfections. Thus, there is no difference with regard to the two main paths - method and wisdom - for accomplishing the Form and Dharma Bodies of a Buddha. And even though the Vajrayāna path has some special features that are not shared by the pāramitā vehicle, since they are not distinctions in the principal aspects of the path, they are not sufficient to establish a separate vehicle.[14]

David Snellgrove disagrees:

> Although it may be shown that many of the roots of the Vajrayāna were already present in the Mahāyāna, just as those of the Mahāyāna were in the Hīnayāna, the differences between the Vajrayāna and the earlier forms of Buddhism are extreme. The main difference derives from the Vajrayāna use of incantation and ritual as a means towards the ultimate goal, whereas in the earlier phases of Buddhism their use was largely peripheral (Snellgrove 1987:130).

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[13] Snellgrove (1987:129-130 [n.27]) argues against Tsong kha pa's view that the Buddhahood striven for in the pāramitā system and the mantra system is the same, but he presents no evidence. The study of this problem must take into account the works of such masters as Ratnākaraśānti and Abhayākaragupta, who wrote commentaries on both the Abhisamayālaṃkāra and the tantras.

[14] sNgags rim chen mo 27/2-6. My translation differs in wording but agrees in meaning with that of Hopkins (1977:110-111).

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It is true that incantation and ritual play a more important role in the Vajrayāna than in earlier phases of Buddhism. However, this difference is not sufficient for us to say "...tantric Buddhism becomes a separate 'Way' (yāna), as distinguishable from the Mahāyāna as this is distinguishable from the so-called Hīnayāna" (Snellgrove 1987:129).[15] Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna are distinguished from the point of view of motivation, practice, and goal. Whereas the Hīnayāna path mainly focuses on the development of the wisdom that enables the practitioner to obtain his own nirvana, the Mahāyāna aims at the equal development of wisdom and method in order to achieve Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings. The pāramitā system and the mantra system of the Mahāyāna, on the other hand, are identical with regard to motivation (bodhicitta) and goal (Buddhahood). The philosophical theories - Madhyamaka and Vijñānavāda - underlying their practices are the same. The basic practices, the practice of the six pāramitās, are the same. The only difference between the two systems is that the mantra system contains

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[15] Snellgrove rightly notes "...it may fairly be claimed that there has scarcely ever been any form of Buddhism that has not involved rituals of some kind, even if one thinks only of the cult that surrounded the early stūpas" (Snellgrove 1987:279). In fact, the use of ritual and incantation in Buddhist cult practice was not an innovation of the Vajrayāna, but developed within earlier phases of Buddhism.

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certain additional techniques to achieve the goal more quickly.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the goal, Buddhahood, is achieved through the practice of the perfection of wisdom, which produces the accumulation of gnosis, and the perfection of method, which produces the accumulation of merit. The accumulation of gnosis serves as the cause for the development of the Dharma Body, and the accumulation of merit acts as the cause of the Form Body. There is no difference between the pāramitā system and the mantra system regarding the development of wisdom for the accumulation of gnosis, because both systems promote meditation on emptiness for this purpose. However, in the pāramitā system of the Mahāyāna the accumulation of merit is accomplished through the practice of the six perfections alone, whereas in the mantra system it is produced through the practice of deity yoga (devatāyoga; lha'i rnal 'byor).

Tsong kha pa explains the difference between the pāramitā system and the mantra system:

> The method that acts as the cause of the Form Body which, appearing to fortunate disciples, protects and saves sentient beings for as long as samsara exists, must be taken as the chief special feature of the Mahāyāna. Bodhisattvas following the pāramitā system condition themselves to a path that is similar in aspect to the Dharma Body by meditating on the reality of phenomena free from the elaborations of conceptual thought. However, they do not have a path

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> of meditating on themselves as similar in aspect with the Form Body that is arrayed with the major and minor marks, whereas those following the mantra system do. Thus, since there is such a large difference in the body of the path with respect to the method of accomplishing the Form Body for the sake of others, the Mahāyāna is divided into two, the pāramitā and mantra vehicles. In general, the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna must not be distinguished from the point of view of the wisdom that realizes emptiness, but must be distinguished from the point of view of method. In particular, even though the Mahāyāna is divided into two, these divisions are not distinguished from the point of view of the wisdom that realizes the profound emptiness, but must be distinguished from the point of view of method. The chief aspect of method is the portion that accomplishes the Form Body. Among methods for accomplishing the Form Body, the Vajrayāna deity yoga of meditating on oneself as having an aspect similar to that of the Form Body is superior to the method of the pāramitā vehicle.[16]

In essence, deity yoga involves first imagining oneself in the form of a deity, and then actually becoming that deity. Through the practice of visualization, the repetition of mantras, ritual hand gestures, and various other meditative and ritual techniques, the yogi transforms his ordinary perception of his psychophysical constituents into a mental image resembling his chosen deity - a Buddha. Once this mental image is so firmly fixed in the practitioner's mind that its reality equals, or even replaces, his ordinary vision, he engages in other, more advanced techniques that result in his actual

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[16] sNgags rim chen mo 31/5-32/3; Hopkins (1977:115-116).

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transformation into the deity. The achievement of the state of the deity, i.e., Buddhahood, constitutes the culmination of the Vajrayāna path.[17]

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[17] Deity yoga does not lend itself to brief treatment, and I am not able to provide a more detailed account here. All of the reliable works on this subject are either by contemporary Tibetan scholars or their western students: see Hopkins (1977 & 1981: passim); Jackson (1985:119-138); Sopa (1985:139-158); Cozort (1986); Gyatso (1982). (The last cited work is an especially clear and detailed exposition of the most advanced Vajrayāna yogas.)

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Chapter 4:

Methodology in the Study of Vajrayāna Buddhism[1]

> ...the Tantrik phase developed in Northern India, Kashmīr, and Nepal, into the monstrous and polydemonist doctrine, the Kālacakra, with its demoniacal Buddhas, which incorporated the Mantrāyāna practices, and called itself the Vajra-yāna, or 'The Thunderbolt-Vehicle,' and its followers were named Vajrācārya, or 'Followers of the Thunderbolt' (Waddell 1934:15).
>
> The extreme development of the Tāntrik phase was reached with the Kāla-cakra, which, although unworthy of being considered a philosophy, must be referred to here as a doctrinal basis. It is merely a coarse Tāntrik development of the Ādi-Buddha theory combined with the puerile mysticisms of the Mantrayāna, and it attempts to explain creation and the secret powers of nature, by the union of the terrible Kāli, not only with the Dhyāni Buddhas, but even with Ādi-Buddha himself. In this way Ādi-Buddha, by meditation, evolves a procreative energy by which the awful Samvharā and other dreadful Dākkinī-fiendesses, all of the Kāli-type, obtain spouses as fearful as themselves, yet spouses who are regarded as reflexes of Ādi-Buddha and the Dhyāni Buddhas. And these demoniacal 'Buddhas,' under the names of Kāla-cakra, Heruka, Achala, Vajra-vairabha, etc., are credited with powers not inferior to those of the celestial Buddhas themselves, and withal, ferocious and bloodthirsty; and only to be conciliated by constant worship of themselves and their female energies, with offerings and sacrifices, magic-circles, special mantra-charms, etc. (Waddell 1934:131).

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[1] Compared with the bulk of editions and translations of texts, and essays on individual problems in Vajrayāna theory, practice, and history, almost nothing has been written on methodological issues in the study of Buddhist tantra. A notable exception to this is Reginald Ray's "Understanding Tantric Buddhism: Some Questions of Method" (Ray 1974). Other valuable observations include Snellgrove (1959a:vii-ix, 1-11, 39-46); Ruegg (1967:17-22); Snellgrove (1987:170-176 & passim).

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L. Austine Waddell's description of the Kālacakra, very little of which is based on fact, is an example of the general bewilderment and consternation 19th century European scholars felt towards the Vajrayāna. Western scholars first encountered Buddhism in its Theravāda form. This, they imagined, represented the original, pure teaching of the Buddha, a rational humanism having a number of affinities with their own world view. As Mahāyāna Buddhism became better known, it was seen as a degeneration. The myriads of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, the fantastic imagery of the Mahāyāna sutras (themselves "late forgeries"), and the increasing prevalence of ritual and magical formulae (dhāraṇī), all this was viewed as the rank undergrowth of the inherent defects of "the Hindu mentality" choking out the tender sprout of the Buddha's message. Buddhist tantra, on the other hand, was simply an abomination. What could this "monstrous and polydemonist doctrine," revolving around the worship of demoniacal Buddhas and their fiendess consorts, have to do with the simple asceticism of the Buddha?

Today we know that the nineteenth century approach to the study of Buddhism is fatally flawed. We cannot recover "the original teaching of the Buddha" for the simple reason that all of our sources were recorded considerably after the lifetime of the Buddha: all we have

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are the texts of different Buddhist traditions that were redacted at various times. It is also universally understood that the Mahāyāna is not a degeneration of the Buddhadharma, but is a natural development of Indian Buddhism.[2] With the Vajrayāna, too, great progress has been made. Most scholars now recognize that the Vajrayāna is in fact an authentic Buddhist tradition, and that its study merits the attention given to other forms of Buddhism. However, much work remains to be done.

Scholars have often reacted inappropriately to the language and imagery of Vajrayāna texts. T.W. Rhys-Davids, writing towards the end of the 19th century, denounces the Buddhist tantras as "miserable in respect of form, as they are odious and degrading in respect of meaning" (Ray 1974:169). Bendall, introducing the Subhāṣitasaṃgraha, writes: "...a considerable portion of the contents of the present book will be distasteful and even sometimes repulsive to modern readers...," and justifies its publication because "...next to nothing [has been written about Buddhism's] decay, decrepitude and dotage, as shown in the Tantra-literature" (Bendall 1903:376). Even so, he is compelled to assure the reader that, "To me it all reads like an obscene caricature of

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[2] For thoughtful remarks on this see Snellgrove (1959a:5-8).

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the teachings of...earlier Buddhism" (Bendall 1903:5 [n. 2]). Describing the yogini tantras, de la Vallée Poussin says: "The most conspicuous topic of this literature is what is called the strīpūjā, worship of women: disgusting practices, both obscene and criminal, including incest, are a part of this pūjā, which is looked upon as the true 'heroic behavior' (duḥkaracharyā) of a bodhisattva, as the fulfillment of the perfect virtues" (de la Vallée Poussin 1921:196). M. Winternitz writes: "...on the whole we find in [the Guhyasamāja] the same unsavory mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science, magic, and erotics, as in most other Buddhist Tantras"; "...I cannot find much wisdom in the gibberish of most of the Tantras" (Winternitz 1933b:3 & 4).[3]

More recently, Snellgrove indicates that his translation of the Hevajra Tantra "expunges short passages here and there, in which nothing of value is lost" (Snellgrove 1959a:8).[4] Moreover, Snellgrove consistently

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[3] Snellgrove (1987:127 [n. 20], 618) mistakenly attributes this article (Winternitz 1933b) to Benyotosh Bhattacharyya.

[4] Cf. Snellgrove (1959a:98 [n. 2], 104 [n. 2], 119). My criticism of Snellgrove here and elsewhere should not be taken to indicate a lack of respect for his excellent scholarship and fundamentally sound approach to the study of the Vajrayāna. Snellgrove properly praises de la Vallée Poussin as the first western scholar to give serious consideration to Buddhist tantra (Snellgrove 1959a:vii-viii, 8). However, Snellgrove's own edition and

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avoids a literal translation of sexual terms in the Hevajra, glossing them with euphemisms that give the reader a misleading impression of the contents of the original text.[5]

An extreme case of misplaced prudery is B. Bhattacharyya's censorship of the sexual terminology from

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translation of the Hevajra makes him the veritable "opener of the way" for western Vajrayāna studies (see the reviews cited in the next note). Also, Snellgrove's recently published Indo-Tibetan Buddhism will be the handbook of scholars of Vajrayāna Buddhism for years to come.

[5] This starts in the very first line of the tantra, with his translation of bhaga - vulva - as "bliss." See Stein (1960:127), Wayman (1960:160-161), and Conze (1960:605); de Jong (1960:200). (It should be noted that these reviews are in general very positive.)

Snellgrove now admits: "In my translation of the Hevajra Tantra I have tended to gloss over such [sexual] imagery, as indeed so often do the Tibetans" (Snellgrove 1987:121 [n. 9]). Unfortunately, Snellgrove gives no references to support his remarkable assertion that the Tibetans bowdlerized their translations. It seems to be contradicted by Snellgrove's edition of the Tibetan translation of the Hevajra (cf., e.g., Hevajra II.iv.35-39; II.xi.11-15; these verses are "expunged" from Snellgrove's translation). There is certainly nothing evasive about the Tibetan translation of the Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra (cf., e.g., Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa 110-119). In brief, I have seen no evidence to support the notion that Tibetan translators ever glossed over sexual or scatological terminology in the tantras.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese translations of the Guhyasamāja and the Hevajra were bowdlerized. For the Guhyasamāja see Winternitz (1933b:9); for the Hevajra see de Jong (1960:200), Abbott (1978:100-103), de Jong (1986:66). Kenneth W. Eastman has convincingly argued that the major portion of the massive Vajraśekhara corpus was suppressed in China because of its evocative language and imagery (Eastman 1981a). An interesting and valuable study could be done comparing the receptions the Vajrayāna received in China, Tibet, and the West.

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Mario E. Carelli's edition of Nāro's Paramārthasaṃgraha (Carelli 1940:75). If Carelli had not been able to supply the censored terms in an addendum, the utility of his edition would have been considerably lessened.

Vajrayāna Buddhism evokes an emotional response because it utilizes human emotion as an element in its soteriological path. Sex, violence, liquor, and scatology elicit much stronger motive forces than do the abstract principles of an abstruse metaphysics. In the Vajrayāna a yogi sublimates passions such as lust, hatred, intoxication, and revulsion, and transforms them into divine qualities. The practices used to generate and transmute the passions are sometimes graphically depicted in the tantras. Misunderstanding of these practices has led to the misconception that the Vajrayāna is merely a kind of esoteric hedonism, and that it promotes libertinism.

A major obstacle to the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism is prejudice on the part of the investigator. The scientific study of religion, as in the scientific study of any phenomenon, is predicated on emotional neutrality on the part of the researcher. As historians of religion it is not our task to praise or condemn our subject-matter, that is better left to religious proselytizers and inquisitors. If the student of the Vajrayāna is unable to

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temporarily set aside his own personal values, he may find demons and monsters where there are none.

The study of Vajrayāna Buddhism must begin with the Vajrayāna tradition. This principle would seem to be axiomatic, but it is not always followed. Some scholars use modern western theories of philosophy, psychology, and physics to interpret ancient Indian Vajrayāna texts. The results they obtain would not be understood, or even recognized, by members of the Vajrayāna tradition. While it is of course legitimate to attempt an innovative interpretation of a religious text once the traditional interpretations have been understood and assimilated, to omit this first step is a recipe for disaster.

A crucial methodological and hermeneutical principle in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism is the priority of the traditional commentarial interpretations over our literal reading of the tantras. Some scholars have opted to reverse this priority. For example, Reginald Ray says:

> ...it is the Tantras themselves and not the commentaries that have always stood at the heart of the Vajrayāna cult. The Tantras embody what the practitioners actually do. Here, the sacred symbols to be visualized are described in detail, the yogic practices are set out, the actions of yogin and yoginī are portrayed and the ritual utterances are given. And, most important, elements such as these are not presented in abstraction, but are rather described in the unified context of those specific rituals, as actually performed by the Tantrics, that are the real basis of this Buddhist cult. The commentaries, by contrast, provide us with a

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> secondary, frequently detached, sometimes scholastic view of the essential practices. Just what is happening in the Tantras is often not clear and for this the commentaries can, in given instances, prove extremely helpful. But our understanding of the Vajrayāna cult itself must always be based on a study and interpretation of the Tantras themselves (Ray 1974:173).

There is a fundamental problem with this line of reasoning. Anyone who reads a tantra will agree wholeheartedly that "just what is happening in the Tantras is often not clear." However, the judgement that the commentaries "provide us with a secondary, frequently detached, sometimes scholastic view of the essential practices" assumes that we are able to determine the actual meaning of the essential practices based on our independent interpretation of the tantras. For reasons outlined below, I believe this to be impossible.[6]

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[6] Out of fairness to Ray, I should note that he recognizes "a now well accepted principle in Tantric Buddhist studies: since the basic Tantras themselves are complex, epigrammatic, ritual documents which are far from being self-explanatory, one can hazard an interpretation of them only after a careful examination of the relevant explanatory literature of the tradition" (Ray 1974:170). However, I strongly doubt that we can go one up on the tradition and somehow determine 'the original intention of a tantra' that the tradition has missed.

Also, I completely concur with Ray's statements that "...the commentaries themselves were never intended to be removed from context and taken alone, but always assumed an intimate familiarity with the Tantra upon which they commented"; that "...the commentaries do not purport to analyze or explain in a Western sense the practices, doctrines or symbolism of Tantric Buddhism"; and "...what is true of the Tantras themselves is also true of the commentaries: they are a highly idiosyncratic type of

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There is often a great disparity between what the tantras themselves seem to advocate and the explanations of the Vajrayāna commentators. Snellgrove states the problem as follows:

> ...while the tantra itself was intended to be understood in its obvious (and be it added in its often reprehensible) sense, the leaders of this new period [i.e., the commentators] persist in regarding it in a figurative sense... (Snellgrove 1959a:17).

Again,

> ...we are aware of a discrepancy existing between the tantras themselves and the exegetical works of those who later adopt them, for while the latter never lose sight of the goal which is self-realization, the tantras often treat of rites in such a naive manner as to belie any esoteric intention. In the commentaries one is dealing always with the internal process, or with the internal process as the end envisaged. In the tantra itself one is concerned with actual practices in the world without (Snellgrove 1959a:8).

It is strange that Snellgrove should be so utterly mistaken in this.[7] He used nine commentaries in his study

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literature and are far from being self-explanatory" (Ray 1974:173-174). In my opinion, all of this demonstrates our dependence on the living oral traditions for a thorough understanding of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

[7] Especially given the statement in the preface to this work that, "There seems to be nothing essentially difficult about these texts if studied [in the light of their commentaries], but one can go hopelessly astray if one attempts to make deductions oneself from literal interpretations of the tantras" (Snellgrove 1959a:viii). Likewise, "...it is oneself who becomes the fool, when one sets about a literal interpretation of the text" (Snellgrove 1959a:46). I agree completely with these observations.

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of the Hevajra, and the valuable notes to his translation make it perfectly clear that the commentators take some passages figuratively, some literally, and some both ways.[8]

The tantras themselves do not permit merely a naive, literal reading of their contents. A graphic example of this is Hevajra II.iii.29, which is identical to Guhyasamāja 16.61:

> prāṇinaś ca tvayā ghātyā vaktavyaṃ ca mṛṣāvacaḥ/
> adattañ ca tvayā grāhyaṃ sevanaṃ parayoṣitaḥ//
>
> You should kill living beings, and speak lies. You

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[8] For example, there is nothing figurative about the commentators' explanations of the rituals in Hevajra I.ii.20-34 (Snellgrove 1959a:51-55). With regards to the vajra song at Hevajra II.iv.6-8, Snellgrove says: "As for this vajra-song, the commentaries provide two kinds of interpretation, a literal and a figurative. But in this case even the literal is concealed beneath the jargon of their 'secret language'" (Snellgrove 1959a:101 [n. 2]).

There appears to be general confusion among scholars as to whether the practices described in the tantras are to be physically carried out, or are merely imaginary. Warder says: "According to the traditional interpretation of [the Guhyasamāja] the means here is meditation only, the visualization of the Buddha with whom, or through whom, the 'union' is sought. However, the interpretation standardized by later commentators may have been preceded by more tangible conduct of its rituals" (Warder 1960:488). Such a bifurcation of meditation and ritual is utterly alien to the Vajrayāna tradition. From the earliest Indian commentaries through to the living Tibetan tradition, there is no disagreement on this point: ritual performance and meditation go hand in hand. If anything, the later Indian and Tibetan commentators are more explicit than their predecessors in spelling out the karmamudrā practices Warder seems to be alluding to.

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should take what is not given, and have intercourse with others' wives.[9]

Hevajra II.iii.30, the next verse, explains:

ekacittaṃ prāṇivadhaṃ prāṇa cittaṃ yato mataṃ/
lokān uttārayiṣyāmi mṛṣāvādaṅ ca śabditaṃ/
yoṣicchukram adattaṅ ca paradārāḥ svābhasundarī//[10]

A unified mind is killing living beings, because vitality is held to be mind; and saying 'I will emancipate the world' is renowned as lying. The semen of women is what is not given, and others' wives are one's own beautiful radiance.[11]

These verses obviously require an extensive commentary to be fully intelligible, but even a literal reading demonstrates that the antinomian passages in the tantras cannot always be taken at face value.

It is universally accepted that ancient Indian didactic verse texts cannot be approached except through the medium of commentaries. No one today would propose to interpret the terse, mostly opaque stanzas of Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikā independent of its commentaries. Yet

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[9] Winternitz's manifest disgust with the Guhyasamāja derived from his literal interpretation of this and similar passages in the tantra (cf. Winternitz 1933b:3).

[10] As Snellgrove suggests, I omit proktam in pāda a. In pāda e Snellgrove's text reads -chrukram, an obvious misprint.

[11] My translation is based on the Yogaratnamālā's comments, and it differs somewhat from Snellgrove's earlier (1959a:97) and later (1987:173) interpretations. In the earlier interpretation Snellgrove used "bliss" to translate śukra - semen - in pāda e. (Some Indian theories hold that women, too, possess semen: cf. Saṃvarodaya 2.23; O'Flaherty [1981:35-39].)

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we find scholars claiming to be able to divine the "original intent of the author" a tantra. If the tantras were written in ordinary, straightforward language this would be merely problematic. Given the peculiar use of language in the tantras, it is impossible.

It has long been recognized that the Buddhist tantras are written in saṃdhyābhāṣā, "intentional language": "i.e., enigmatical speech in which a secret meaning is intended" (Winternitz 1933a:393 [n. 4]).[12] In Hevajra II.iii.53-67 extensive examples of this are given: "'Wine'

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[12] The more recent studies of saṃdhyābhāṣā are those of Bharati (1961), Wayman (1968c), and Elder (1975). Bharati (1961:270) gives a bibliography of earlier writings on the subject.

It should be noted that saṃdhyābhāṣā is mainly used in the tantras of the anuttarayoga class, and not in those of the "lower" classes of tantra. However, most of the seemingly antinomian passages, and the interpretive problems they cause, are found just in the anuttarayoga tantras, so the two may be fruitfully treated together.

There has been interminable, mostly tedious, discussion of the proper Sanskrit form and meaning of the term I translate as "intentional language." Although I fear I am beating a dead horse, the following observations may be helpful. It seems that both saṃdhyā- and sandhā-bhāṣā appear in manuscripts. (In the MSS of the Vimalaprabhā I used, only the former appears.) The first word literally means "twilight" whereas the latter means "intentional," and scholars have argued vehemently about which form and meaning are correct. However, the Tibetans translate both forms by dgongs pa'i, "intentional." It seems to me that saṃdhyābhāṣā itself is an example of "intentional language." Literally it means "twilight language," but in practice it refers to semantically ambiguous expression that requires interpretation to be fully understood. In the twilight realm of the language used in the tantras, ambiguity is built into the very semantic structure of the system.

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is 'passion,' 'flesh' is 'strength,' 'sandalwood' is 'meeting,'" and so forth. In intentional language ordinary words are given an esoteric sense, and when this secret language is employed in a text a passage can legitimately have both an exoteric and an esoteric meaning.[13] This situation places our evaluation of the literal, surface meaning of a tantra on a very shaky foundation. Once we have parsed the grammar and looked up the words in our dictionaries, how are we to know on what level, or levels, we should interpret the text? The obvious, and in my opinion only, answer is that we must resort to the commentarial traditions, both written and oral.[14]

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[13] Saṃdhyābhāṣā seems to be merely a special application of the kāvya alaṃkāra called śleṣa: "pun, paronomasia, double entendre, susceptibility of a word or sentence to yield two or more interpretations (regarded as a figure of speech and very commonly used by poets...)" (Apte 1579).

[14] Some scholars will object to my advocacy of utilization of the oral commentarial traditions. Living Vajrayāna masters are a millennium or more removed from the time of composition of the tantras and, as is well known, religious traditions change over time.

However, many Vajrayāna practices are only alluded to in the texts of the tantras themselves, and often the commentaries are not much help in clarifying the more obscure, and sometimes crucial, points. It is simply defective methodology to ignore a source as rich as the living Vajrayāna tradition, a tradition that can be plausibly traced back to the very origins of Vajrayāna Buddhism itself. In the investigation of historical questions ancient documents will naturally carry more weight than modern oral traditions, but in the resolution

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The use of saṃdhyābhāṣā in the tantras greatly complicates our task of understanding them. Unfortunately, the issue of language and meaning in the Vajrayāna is even more complex. The Vimalaprabhā cites the following verse from the Paramādibuddha, the Kālacakra mūlatantra:

> sandhyābhāṣām tathā naiva rutaṃ caiva tathā na ca/
> neyārthaṃ na ca nītārthaṃ tantraṃ ṣaṭkoṭilakṣaṇam//
>
> /dgongs pa'i skad dang de bzhin min/
> /ji bzhin sgra dang de bzhin min/
> /drang ba'i don dang nges don te/
> /rgyud ni mtha' drug mtshan nyid do/[15]
>
> Tantra is characterized by the six alternatives: intentional language and that which is not; literal utterance and that which is not; provisional meaning and definitive meaning.[16]

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of doctrinal issues it remains to be seen whether or not this is the case.

[15] Vimalaprabhā I.4.1 (U 35; MS B 14a/1-2; MS D 22b/2-3; Bu 376/5-7). In pāda c the na seems to be superfluous, but it appears in all MSS; perhaps it is only a verse-filler. *Kālacakrapāda ascribes this verse to the Pradīpodyotana (cf. Sekoddeśaṭīkā, Peking #2070; vol. 47, 147/4/6-7). I am unable to locate it in the printed edition of the Sanskrit text of the Pradīpodyotana.

[16] Bu ston comments on this verse as follows: "Intentional language" is spoken for sentient beings who desire the supreme, by employing words that contradict the actual state of affairs of the Dharma. "That which is not" (intentional language) clearly teaches reality so that sentient beings having dull faculties may understand. "Literal utterance" extensively explains the meaning of the mandala, the realizations, and so forth. "That which is not" (literal utterance) is the Tathāgata's symbol that does not exist in the world or in treatises. "Provisional meaning" is explained in a hidden fashion to unfortunate persons. "Definitive meaning" well teaches the actual

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This verse is closely related to a verse in the introduction to Candrakīrti's commentary on the Guhyasamāja, the Pradīpodyotana:

> sandhyāyā bhāṣā no sandhyā neyanītārthabhedataḥ/
> yathārutaṃ ca narutaṃ ṣaṭkoṭir iti kīrtitam//[17]
>
> Intentional language and non-intentional language, the divisions provisional and definitive meaning, and literal utterance and non-literal utterance, are renowned as the 'six alternatives.'

These "six alternatives" of explanation form only a part of an extremely elaborate system of hermeneutics developed in the Ārya tradition of Guhyasamāja exegesis. Some progress has been made in unravelling this system,[18] but a great deal of further research is needed before we can claim to fully understand it.[19] One important question that has not yet been fully addressed is the extent to which the six alternatives can be applied to texts outside

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meaning.

[17] Pradīpodyotana 3 (verse I.25). Cf. Pradīpodyotana 10.

[18] See Matsunaga (1963); Wayman (1977:113-119); Steinkellner (1978); Broido (1983 & 1985); Ruegg (1985).

[19] In this endeavor western scholars can save themselves much unnecessary trouble by consulting competent Tibetan authorities. Gelugpa scholars in particular devote a major portion of their tantric studies to the investigation of the Guhyasamāja in light of the Pradīpodyotana together with Tsong kha pa's subcommentary.

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the Guhyasamāja corpus.[20] Whatever the outcome of this problem, it is already apparent that the semantics of the Buddhist tantras preclude our being able to determine their meaning independently of the explanations of the commentarial traditions.

The preceding discussion makes three main points: (1) Scientific study of Vajrayāna Buddhism requires emotional neutrality on the part of the researcher. (2) Innovative interpretations of the Vajrayāna must follow, not precede, an exhaustive investigation of traditional interpretations. (3) The explanations of the commentarial traditions take priority over our literal reading of the tantras.

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[20] It is applied to the Kālacakra corpus by *Kālacakrapāda: *cf.* Sekoddeśaṭīkā (Peking #2070; vol. 47, 147/2/4, 147/4/3-147/5/7). *Kālacakrapāda cites the Pradīpodyotana, and asserts that "all tantras were made to exist as definitive meaning and provisional meaning" (rgyud thams cad kyang nges pa dang drang ba'i don du gnas par byas).

Recently Ruegg has pointed out Tibetan applications of the six alternatives to the sutra literature as well (Ruegg 1985:310).

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Chapter 5: Problems of Chronology In the History of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism

The foundation of history is chronology, and in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhist history we immediately encounter a problem of daunting proportions.[1] Our earliest evidence for the various Vajrayāna systems - the texts of the tantras - are not dated, and due to the nature of the tantras themselves, except within rather wide parameters they are for the most part undatable. Like the Mahāyāna sutras, the tantras are set in the form of dialogues carried on among Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and various other divinities, that take place in mythological settings unrelated to historical time. Because the tantras are strictly concerned with presenting their mystical doctrines, they almost never contain internal evidence that permits precise dating. Furthermore, the tantras, like the sutras, are generally not unified compositions; they are compilations of diverse materials that grew over time.[2] Thus, the texts we have received

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[1] For some cogent observations on the problems involved in dating Buddhist tantras, see Snellgrove (1987:183-184). For the chronology of Indian literature in general, see Winternitz (1981:21-26).

[2] An extraordinarily clear example of this phenomenon is provided in Tadeuz Skorupski's critical edition of the two versions of the Sarvadurgati-

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are often only the latest redactions of works that developed gradually over the course of several centuries. This forces us to be extremely cautious when confronted with a firmly datable reference to a tantra. Such a reference may prove the contemporaneous existence of the title of the text, or a given portion of the text, but it may not certify the existence of the entire received text at that time.

A comparison of the dates put forward by the two leading scholars of the Guhyasamāja-tantra - Alex Wayman and Yukei Matsunaga - provides a vivid illustration of the difficulties involved in dating a Buddhist tantra. The Guhyasamāja is generally accepted by western scholars[3] to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the

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pariśodhana-tantra. Skorupski demonstrates that the text of this tantra was expanded through the addition of material (Skorupski 1983:xvii-xxix). For similar occurrences in other Vajrayāna texts see: de Jong (1984); Matsunaga (1985).

[3] My use of the expression "western scholars" is somewhat idiosyncratic. I include any scholar using what is essentially a modern European approach to the study of Buddhism within this category, regardless of his geographical or ethnic origin. This seems to be justified now that Buddhism is studied in this fashion throughout the world. Thus, Japanese, Indian, and Tibetan scholars following the European critical method of Buddhist studies are "western scholars."

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tantras of the anuttarayoga tantra class.[4] Chronology aside, western scholars and traditional scholars are agreed that doctrinally it marks an advance on the practices taught in the yoga tantras, most notably the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha.[5] Since it appears to be a kind of watershed in the development of the Vajrayāna, fixing a date for the Guhyasamāja would count as a major accomplishment.

Alex Wayman has devoted an entire article, entitled "Early Literary History of the Buddhist Tantras, Especially the Guhyasamāja-tantra" (Wayman 1968b), to a discussion of chronological questions in the Guhyasamāja corpus. More recently he has repeated his position, with some further substantiation of his arguments, in his book Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra (Wayman 1977:89-102).[6] I will give Wayman's conclusions first, and then the premises offered in support of them.

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[4] Applying the four-fold tantra classification scheme (kriyā-, caryā-, yoga-, and anuttarayoga-tantra) to literature of the early period of Vajrayana history is somewhat anachronistic, but it is so convenient that it can scarcely be avoided.

[5] Snellgrove (1959b:206, 218); Matsunaga (1977b:XXIII); Wayman (1977:87); cf. Snellgrove (1987:121, 152, 180-181, 269-270).

[6] Actually, it appears that the book was written before the article (cf. Wayman 1968b:100), but there was a considerable delay in the publication of the book (Wayman 1977:x).

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Wayman holds that "an Explanatory Tantra (vyākhyā-tantra) of the Guhyasamāja called Vajramālā was composed in the fifth century A.D., and the basic tantra Guhyasamāja probably in the fourth century A.D." (Wayman 1968b:100; cf. 1977:98-99). Wayman's argument for a 5th century date for the Vajramālā boils down to two points: 1) the Vajramālā contains "Yogācāra-type vocabulary" such as is found in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra; and 2) the 32nd chapter of the Vajramālā presents the ten (or perhaps only the first five, Wayman equivocates on this) avatāras of Viṣṇu in a kind of esoteric embryology (Wayman 1968b:101; 1977:97-98).[7]

Wayman dates the Vajramālā to the 5th century because the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra was first translated into Chinese in the middle of that century, and because the standard list of Viṣṇu's incarnations first appears in Bengali inscriptions from around that time. Unfortunately, the facts do not necessarily support Wayman's thesis. Many

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[7] Wayman also presents an "indirect reason" why the Vajramālā should be placed in the 5th century. He theorizes that a set of 33 female prakṛtis and 40 male prakṛtis found in the Vajramālā and the Pañcakrama may be related to the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult (Wayman 1968b:101; 1977:98, cf. 82-83). However, he rightly notes that "any conclusion about this matter must be of a highly speculative nature, since the early syncretisms of Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism are obscure, and since the erotic type of Kṛṣṇa worship is usually placed at a considerably later date that what we are now considering (fifth century, A.D.)" (Wayman 1977:98).

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texts that are firmly dateable to long after the 5th century contain "Yogācāra-type vocabulary," and even today works are composed in India that refer to the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. If anything, the appearance of these elements in the Vajramālā might serve as evidence that the extant version of this text was redacted some time after the 5th century.[8]

Wayman realizes that "the kind of reasoning employed above might be challenged by the scholars who insist on a later date for the Guhyasamājatantra, in fact placed just prior to the historical commentaries on it" (Wayman 1977:99). He then provides evidence to support his theory that the Guhyasamāja dates to the 4th century which, he says, is "as independent as possible from the Vajramālā consideration" (Wayman 1968b:102). This consists of extracts with translations from no less than eight commentaries on the Guhyasamāja, two composed by members of the Ārya tradition, and six by authors Wayman counts among the Jñānapāda tradition (Wayman 1968b:103-106 = 1977:99-102). The comments all purport to explain a

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[8] The received text of the Vajramālā is probably not a unitary composition. Matsunaga believes that the 68th chapter is drawn from the Pañcakrama (Matsunaga 1964:17-19, 24; Matsunaga 1977b:XXX; de Jong 1981:109-110). I identified two verses in the Vajramālā that seem to be very late interpolations taken from the Vimalaprabhā (Newman 1985:85 [n. 12]).

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reference to "three kinds of sense object" mentioned in the 7th chapter of the Guhyasamāja. As Wayman convincingly demonstrates, the commentators vary considerably in their explanations, but for the most part they all follow erstwhile glosses contained in the Vajramālā, the Saṃdhivyākaraṇa (another Guhyasamāja vyākhyātantra), and the 18th chapter of the Guhyasamāja itself.

Wayman notes:

> What is significant about the two commentarial traditions is precisely that there are two, with many differences within each of these traditions. Just as the Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika of non-tantric Buddhism could not have arisen fully-grown, in the form in which we know them, in the century immediately following the passing of the Buddha, so also the 'Ārya School' and the 'Jñānapāda School' could not have arisen in the century immediately following the composition of the Guhyasamāja, let alone the very same century! (Wayman 1968b:103-104 = 1977:99).

The Ārya and the Jñānapāda traditions of Guhyasamāja exegesis were founded by Ārya Nāgārjuna and Buddhajñānapāda (alias Buddhaśrījñāna). Wayman says, "In the second half of the eighth century we must place both the tantric Nāgārjuna of the 'Ārya School' and Buddhaśrījñāna of the 'Jñānapāda School'" (Wayman 1968b:100; cf. 1977:96). As we will see later, Buddhajñānapāda can be securely dated to the second half of the 8th century, but Nāgārjuna's period is highly

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controversial. However, for the moment we will accept Wayman's dating of Nāgārjuna as a working hypothesis.

Returning to the eight commentators mentioned above, we note that of the two members of the Ārya tradition, one is the founder Nāgārjuna himself, the other is Candrakīrti. Thus, following Wayman's dates, Nāgārjuna's explanation of the passage in question would date to the second half of the 8th century, Candrakīrti's to the first half of the 9th.[9] Turning to the six Jñānapāda tradition commentators, one is immediately struck by the fact that the founder Buddhajñānapāda does not appear among them. Thus, all of their explanations would presumably date to some time after the second half of the 8th century. Furthermore, among the six commentators cited only two- Smṛtijñānakīrti and Ratnākaraśānti - have been dated with any degree of certainty, and they both lived around the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries.[10]

Wayman says:

> When one takes into account that these commentaries vary much more in most other places, where the Guhyasamāja passages are not restricted by such concrete objects as the sense objects, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some centuries

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[9] Wayman dates Candrakīrti to the 9th century, with preference for the first half (Wayman 1968b:100; 1977:96).

[10] For Smṛtijñānakīrti's period see Davidson (1981:8); for Ratnākaraśānti see Ruegg (1981a:110, 111, 116, and especially 122 [n. 405]).

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> of oral tradition have intervened between the basic Guhyasamājatantra and the eighth century when the 'historical' writers began to appear on the scene (Wayman 1968b:106 = 1977:102).

I am unable to follow this line of reasoning. According to Wayman's own chronology only one of the commentaries he cites was written in the 8th century. Since the commentaries as a group were written over a period of several centuries, it is not surprising that they give different explanations of the passage in question. In brief, there is no need to posit centuries of oral tradition intervening between the Guhyasamāja and its commentaries in order to explain variation among them.[11]

Wayman says:

> What I do maintain is that the Vajramālā has the earmarks of having been composed centuries before the tantric Nāgārjuna quoted it in his Pañcakrama, and I tentatively place it in the fifth century. The Sandhivyākaraṇa should tentatively be placed at about the same time, since it shows the same definite style of authoritative revealed literature. The other explanatory tantras can be roughly place there also, subject to later investigations. The above considerations leave open a date for the Guhyasamājatantra itself. ...I see no reason for denying it a century's priority to the Vajramālā; and so, on a purely tentative basis, ascribe the

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[11] The most interesting aspect of the extracts Wayman has collected and translated is the actual nature of the variation within the two schools and the interaction between them. For example, Nāgārjuna and his supposed disciple Candrakīrti give quite different explanations of the "three kind of sense objects." Among the representatives of the Jñānapāda tradition, some agree with Nāgārjuna's position, some agree with Candrakīrti, and others go their own way.

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Guhyasamājatantra to the fourth century A.D. (Wayman 1977:98-99; cf. 1968b:106, 110).

Wayman has not adduced any convincing evidence to support these hypotheses. Until such evidence is provided, his theory of a 4th century date for the Guhyasamāja can only be taken as the conjecture of a scholar who has read a great deal of the Guhyasamāja literature.[12]

Yukei Matsunaga takes a different approach to dating the Guhyasamāja. Due to my ignorance of the Japanese language, I am limited to consulting his publications in English; however, these appear to provide a fair representation of his reasoning and conclusions.

Matsunaga divides the received text of the Guhyasamāja into two basic parts: the first seventeen chapters form the mūlatantra, and the eighteenth forms the uttaratantra. The mūlatantra itself can be divided into two parts: chapters 1-12, and chapters 13-17. Matsunaga

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[12] I am not alone in being unconvinced by Wayman's chronology for the early Guhyasamāja corpus. See Davidson (1981:5 [n. 9]); Snellgrove (1987:184). Matsunaga says: "Since there are analogies with the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra and Vaiṣṇavism in the Vajramālā-tantra, which is one of the Ākhyānatantras (sic) of the Guhyasamāja, a study has also appeared [Wayman (1968b)] which set the formative period of the Guhyasamāja-tantra in the 4th century. If we concur that analogous statements were all composed at the same time, for example, the explications of the magical rituals of Śānti, Pauṣṭika and Ābhicārika etc., explained in the Buddhist Tantras, based on the fact that they appear even in the Atharvaveda, we should be able to trace the era of Buddhist Tantrism back before the birth of Christ" (Matsunaga 1977b:XXVII).

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posits a historical progression for the compilation of the Guhyasamāja as follows: chapters 1-12 were redacted first, chapters 13-17 were appended to this, and finally chapter 18, the uttaratantra, was appended to the first seventeen chapters. This sort of development seems likely: it is supported by internal evidence in the Guhyasamāja itself, and to a certain extent it is also supported by the traditional commentators (Matsunaga 1977b:XXVIII-XXIX; de Jong 1984:105-106).

Matsunaga's theory on the date of the Guhyasamāja appears to have developed over time. In the earliest of his publications accessible to me he says simply, "The compilation of the Guhyasamāja-tantra was about 800 A.D. ..." (Matsunaga 1964:835).[13] In one of his more recent works Matsunaga presents a detailed articulation of his reasoning:

> Within the Samantabhadra nāma sādhana and the Caturaṅgasādhana-samantabhadrī nāma of Jñānapāda which are the Utpattikramas of the Jñānapāda school some parts of the Guhyasamāja-tantra are quoted verbatim. Accordingly, the present form of the Guhyasamāja-tantra seems to have been completed at the time of Jñānapāda.
>
> In recognition of the dates of Haribhadra and Śāntarakṣita, who were clearly contemporaries of Jñānapāda and who had ties with him, Jñānapāda's period of activity is placed around the latter half of the 8th century. We may also note that Vairocana,

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[13] This conclusion is based on arguments developed in articles written in Japanese that are referred to in the notes of the article cited.

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> who was a contemporary of King Khri-srong-lde-brtsan (ca. 800), had introduced the Sampannakrama of the Jñānapāda school from India to Tibet. Compositions of Jñānapāda are recorded in the Demkarma catalogue which was written around the beginning of the 9th century. In addition, since a commentary on the Guhyasamāja-uttaratantra composed by Viśvamitra who belonged to the Jñānapāda school and a commentary on the Guhyasamāja-mūlatantra by Vajrahāsa remain in the Tibetan canon as old translations, both commentaries must have been translated before the translations of Tantras was prohibited by King Ral-pa-can who acceded the throne in 815. For all of the above reasons we know that the Guhyasamāja-tantra including the Uttaratantra part was completed during the latter half of the 8th century when Jñānapāda was active.
>
> Accordingly, we can probably conjecture that the first half of the 8th century was the formative period of the Guhyasamāja-tantra while the text in its present form was completed in the latter half of the 8th century (Matsunaga 1977b:XXV-XXVI).

Some of the evidence presented above is questionable,[14] but the key fact, that Buddhajñānapāda flourished during the second half of the 8th century, is indisputable.[15] Thus, with minor reservations,[16] we can

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[14] For example, I am unable to find Buddhajñānapāda's name or works mentioned in the lDan dkar catalogue, although those of two of his disciples do appear (cf. Lalou 1953:347-348). Buddhajñānapāda's works do not appear in the *mantratantra (gsang sngags kyi rgyud) section of the catalogue (Lalou 1953:326). Also, even though Sad na legs attempted to control the translation of tantras, it is unlikely this had any effect on confirmed followers of the Vajrayāna (cf. Snellgrove 1987:443). It appears certain that this work continued without interruption in the 9th and 10th centuries (cf. Hackin 1924:32).

[15] See Ruegg (1981a:102). In addition to the sources cited by Ruegg, one may note that Buddhajñānapāda taught Buddhaguhya, who in turn taught Vimalamitra (Davidson 1981:9 [n. 23]). Works by Buddhaguhya and Vimalamitra are listed in the lDan dkar catalogue, written

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set the latter half of the 8th century as a firm terminus ante quem for the received text of the Guhyasamāja.[17]

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in 800 or 812 (Lalou 1953:347-348). (Note: Lalou has transcribed the name of the first master as "Buddhagupta," which is synonymous. Is Lalou mistaken, or is "Buddhaguhya" an incorrect reconstruction?)

[16] Matsunaga notes that the text of the uttaratantra preserved in an old commentary and an old translation differs somewhat from the present form (Matsunaga 1977b:XXIX; de Jong 1984:107-108).

[17] In a more recent work Matsunaga says: "Although Jñānapāda wrote works relating to the [Guhyasamāja-tantra], this does not allow us to assume the existence of the [Guhyasamāja-tantra] at that time, because the relations between a text and the sādhana-s and commentaries belonging to a particular school are not easy to determine. In some cases the text was written first and the sādhana-s and commentaries later. It also happened that on the basis of several sādhana-s a text would be written. Finally, a commentary expressing the opinions of a certain school was sometimes used as a basis for the fabrication of a text. In Jñānapāda's works are found three verses of the [Guhyasamāja-tantra] which express some of its fundamental ideas. It is not possible to determine whether these verses were quoted by Jñānapāda from the [Guhyasamāja-tantra]. Although it is therefore not certain that by 800 A.D. the [Guhyasamāja-tantra] had already taken its present form, it must have existed in that period as an independent text, or at least in such a form that it provided sufficient basis for the formation of the text" (de Jong 1984:107).

Matsunaga's points about the difficulty of determining the relations among texts in a tantra corpus are well taken, but his reluctance to assert the 8th century existence of the Guhyasamāja seems overcautious. Kenneth W. Eastman has demonstrated that the Tun-huang manuscript of a Tibetan translation of the Guhyasamāja represents a dynastic period work, and thus the Sanskrit text it is based on probably predates the end of the 8th century (cf. Eastman 1981a; Snellgrove 1987:183 [n. 119]). In the Deb ther sngon po 'Gos gZhon nu dpal attributes an early translation of the Guhyasamāja to Lo tsa ba lCe bKra shes, and notes that during the early period of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet lamas counted the Guhyasamāja as

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Matsunaga goes further, and attempts to establish a terminus post quem for the Guhyasamāja as well. As just cited, he says "we can probably conjecture that the first half of the 8th century was the formative period of the Guhyasamāja-tantra..." The main evidence for this hypothesis is the fact that Amoghavajra, an early Indian Vajrayāna missionary in China, mentions the Guhyasamāja:

> According to the traditions in China and Japan, the Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra is thought to correspond with the first section of the Chin-kang-ting-ching series which consists of a hundred thousand verses and eighteen sections preached in eighteen synods. An outline of the eighteen sections is said to be noted in the Chin-kang-ting-ching-yu-chung-shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei as translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra who had been in India between 744 and 746 A.D. The name 'Guhyasamāja-yoga' and a brief explanation of this text does appear in the fifteenth section of the Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei. If this 'Guhyasamāja-yoga' corresponds to the Guhyasamāja-tantra, we must set the date of this Tantra before 746 A.D. (Matsunaga 1977b:XXIII-XXIV).

Matsunaga explains that "a comparison of Amoghavajra's description with the [Guhyasamāja-tantra] shows that the correspondence is limited to the title, the place of preaching and the teachings found in chapter five of the [Guhyasamāja-tantra]." Based on this he concludes that "At the time of Amoghavajra (700-750) the [Guhyasamāja-tantra] had not been composed yet" (de Jong 1984:107). Again:

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chief among their eighteen classes of tantras (Deb ther sngon po 437; Roerich 1949:359).

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> The original source for the Guhyasamāja-tantra can be detected in the Shih-pa-hui-chih-kuei translated by Amoghavajra. The latter returned to China from India in 746 A.D. carrying numerous Sanskrit texts. However, the Guhyasamāja-tantra presently in existence could certainly not have been completed at this time [emphasis added]. Aside from mythological origins, the Anuttarayoga-tantra must have prospered only after the middle of the eighth century, as witnessed in historical documents (Matsunaga 1977a:XVIII).

Matsunaga's reasoning runs as follows:

> The accounts in the fifteenth section of the Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei have the color of Anuttarayoga-tantra and the influences of the above Yoga-tantra [i.e., the Tattvasaṃgraha] seem strong. In comparison with this Yoga-tantra text, the present form of the Guhyasamāja-tantra is not thought to have existed at the time of the Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei, but the original text must be considered to have been formed. In the first half of the 8th century which was still a flourishing period for Yoga-tantra, the Guhyasamāja-tantra as an Anuttarayoga-tantra was not completed, but we can probably say it had been in its formative stage. In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts of this period, there appear only the Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga-tantras. Anuttarayoga-tantras cannot be found at all (Matsunaga 1977b:XXIV).

In reading Matsunaga's writings on the Guhyasamāja one is immediately struck by the persistence with which he attempts to historically segregate the Guhyasamāja as an anuttarayoga tantra from the yoga tantras, most notably the Tattvasaṃgraha:

> Surprisingly, apparently only a very short time-span was involved before the [Tattvasaṃgraha] developed into Anuttarayoga-tantra by the end of the eighth century, for both Caryā- and Yoga-tantras were still flourishing at the end of the previous century. We do know that by the first half of the seventh century many texts of the Kriyā-tantra class had been

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> developed, and that the Anuttarayoga-tantras were established after the second half of the eighth century (Matsunaga 1977a:XIX; cf. de Jong 1984:92).

In fact, any attempt to historically distinguish texts based on the four-fold classification system (which itself appears to have become current only in the 11th century)[18] is unworkable for the 8th century when texts counted among all of these classes are well attested. Furthermore, Matsunaga's only reason for asserting that "the Guhyasamāja-tantra as an Anuttarayoga-tantra was not completed" during the first half of the 8th century seems to be that this would conflict with his own preconceived notion of the historical development of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

Matsunaga denies that a fully-developed Guhyasamāja could have existed at the time of Amoghavajra because at that time there were no anuttarayoga tantras. The circularity of this reasoning is obvious. In an attempt to break out of this circle he notes that Amoghavajra's brief description of the "Guhyasamāja-yoga" only contains information that corresponds to the title, the place of preaching (i.e., the introduction to the 1st chapter), and the 5th chapter of the received text of the Guhyasamāja. As we will see below, there is reason to believe

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[18] Cf. Snellgrove (1987:462-463, 475, 504-505).

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Amoghavajra deliberately limited himself to a brief description of the Guhyasamāja. In any case, Amoghavajra's description of the Guhyasamāja cannot serve as evidence that the fully-developed form of the tantra did not exist during the first half of the 8th century; it can only serve as proof that certain portions of the received text of the Guhyasamāja did exist at that time.

The other evidence Matsunaga puts forward in his attempt to prove anuttarayoga tantra (to use the anachronism) did not exist during the first half of the 8th century is that "In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts of this period ...Anuttarayoga-tantras cannot be found at all." Anuttarayoga tantras cannot be found among the Tibetan translations of the first half of 8th century because such translations do not exist. Although a number of dynastic period translations are preserved in the Tun-huang manuscripts, the Kanjur and Tanjur, and other text collections (notably the rNying ma rgyud 'bum), none of them have been dated prior to the reign of Khri srong lde brtsan. In fact, there is no certain evidence that Tibetans began translating Indian Buddhist texts until that time, i.e., the second half of the 8th century.

Turning to the Chinese translations, it is noteworthy that there are no "anuttarayoga tantras" among the Chinese

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translations dating from the first half of the eighth century. However, an argument from silence can prove a thesis only when one can establish that, if something had existed, it would necessarily make itself known. In the case of the early Chinese translations of Vajrayāna texts, no anuttarayoga tantras are found among them because they were suppressed. In a brilliant essay entitled "The Eighteen Tantras of the Vajraśekhara/Māyājāla," Kenneth W. Eastman has convincingly demonstrated that it is highly probable that a massive Vajrayāna corpus (including the Guhyasamāja and other tantras containing evocative imagery) was taken to China by Vajrabodhi (661-732), but due to socio-political conditions in China, it could not be translated in its entirety.[19]

To conclude our discussion of Matsunaga's dates for the Guhyasamāja, his establishment of the second half of the 8th century as the terminus ante quem for the received text of the tantra is well-reasoned and based on solid evidence. However, Matsunaga's hypothesis that a fully-developed Guhyasamāja could not have existed during the first half of the 8th century does not bear scrutiny.

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[19] Eastman (1981a), (1981b). When anuttarayoga tantras were translated into Chinese around the end of the 10th century, the erotic, horrific, and disgusting imagery that is so characteristic of these texts was either censored or disguised in euphemisms, as noted above in Chapter 4.

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Even if we ignore Eastman's essay (which, it should be noted, appeared after Matsunaga's studies were published), Matsunaga has not presented any cogent evidence precluding the existence of the tantra at that time. On the contrary, Amoghavajra's description of a text dealing with the "Guhyasamāja yoga," and referring to doctrines common to the extant Guhyasamāja, is a clear indication that some kind of Guhyasamāja-tantra existed early in the 8th century, although we cannot determine its contents in any detail.

Dating Buddhist tantras is extremely problematic. We are very fortunate when we are able to establish historically useful termini ante quem for these mystically-inspired texts; at this point in our research determining a terminus post quem for a particular tantra is likely to be nothing but conjecture.[20]

When we consider the dates of the vajrācāryas responsible for introducing and propagating Vajrayāna systems the situation is equally problematic. To illustrate this we will briefly examine the case of one important Vajrayāna master - Ārya Nāgārjuna. The same sort of treatment could be applied to others.

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[20] The Śrī Kālacakra is the rare, perhaps sole, exception to this rule; see Newman (1985:85 [n. 13]), (1987:100 [n. 24]).

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As noted above, Ārya Nāgārjuna is the founder of the Ārya tradition of Guhyasamāja practice and exegesis. His most important writings are the Guhyasamājatantraṭīkā and the Pañcakrama. The Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna tradition holds that this master is identical to the author of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikās and other early Madhyamaka works. As is well known, Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan Buddhist traditions hold that Nāgārjuna lived for many centuries by means of the practice of alchemy.[21] Thus, the Indo-Tibetan Vajrayāna tradition believes that a single Nāgārjuna founded both the systematized Madhyamaka and the Ārya tradition of Guhyasamāja exegesis, and greatly extended his life through the practice of alchemy.

As would be expected, western scholars have met this explanation with disbelief, and occasional scorn. Although no one has established a definite date for the author of the Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, scholars have opted for the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd centuries A.D. (Ruegg 1981a:4-5 [n. 11]; cf. 1982:505-507). It is believed that works such as the Guhyasamāja (not to mention the Pañcakrama,

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[21] This belief was already current in India at the time of Hsuan-tsang's visit in the middle of the 7th century (cf. Beal 1884:2.212). Tāranātha records some views that are remarkable for their precision: one school held that Nāgārjuna lived to the ripe old age of 529; another thought that was too short, he actually lived to be 571. Tāranātha's own Indian teachers appear to have favoured the latter figure (Chimpa 1970:110).

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etc.) did not exist at such an early time because no evidence suggests their existence. Taking it a priori that human beings cannot live six centuries, western scholars assume that two, three, or perhaps four Nāgārjunas must have been responsible for all the activities carried out under this name. All agree that Nāgārjuna I is the author of the earliest stratum of Madhyamaka literature ascribed to this name, but difficulties arise when one tries to determine what portion of "Nāgārjuna's" tantric and alchemical works belong to a given period.

The literature produced by western scholars grappling with this problem is voluminous; we cannot attempt to deal with it systematically here.[22] Below I list the dates recently proposed for Ārya Nāgārjuna, i.e., the Vajrayāna author, and briefly examine their evidential and logical foundations.

(1) 400 A.D.: Chr. Lindtner says, "I find it quite likely that the author of [the Guhyasamājatantraṭīkā] is identical with the author of the Pañcakrama..., a work which is already cited in Madhyamakaratnapradīpa, ca.

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[22] For a helpful bibliography of studies on the names, lineages, and dates of Indian Vajrayāna masters see Ruegg (1981a:105 [n. 333]).

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570... As a mere working hypothesis I would at present suggest that this 'Nāgārjuna II,' i.e., the tāntrika or siddha flourished ca. 400 A.D." (Lindtner 1982a:11 [n. 12]); cf. 1982b:176-177). Lindtner points out that "Nāgārjuna II...[is] usually, but not always, considered to have lived one or several centuries later than the sixth. But, again, I can see no compelling arguments in support of adopting such a chronology" (Lindtner 1982b:177). This is a valuable observation, as we will see below. However, Lindtner's own date for Ārya Nāgārjuna depends completely on his dating of the Madhyamakaratnapradīpa. Ruegg argues forcefully against Lindtner's ascription of authorship and early dating of this text (Ruegg 1981a:66, 106 [n. 339]; 1982:513, 530). We do not have space to review this controversy here, but we must agree with Ruegg that Lindtner's dating of this text creates many more problems than it solves.

(2) 7th century: David Seyfort Ruegg says, "[Ārya Nāgārjuna] seems to have lived in the seventh (or at the latest in the eighth) century" (Ruegg 1981a:104). In a slightly more recent publication he is more definite: "...we have very good reason to believe [that the Deutero-Nāgārjuna] lived no later than the seventh century" (Ruegg 1982:511). Ruegg's evidence in support of his theory is

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that "I-ching (635-713), who left Tāmralipti about 685, already mentions Nāgārjuna's having studied the Vidyādharapiṭaka" (Ruegg 1982:524 [n. 20] = 1981a:104 [n. 330]).[23] Ruegg believes "This Nāgārjuna-pāda, also one of the Siddhas, played a leading role in the development of the synthesis of the Madhyamaka and Vajrayāna which came into prominence at that time; and he is presumably to be identified with the source of the Ārya-tradition of the Guhyasamājatantra" (Ruegg 1982:511). Again, "...he was most probably the author...of the commentary on the Guhyasamāja (the Tantraṭīkā) and of the Pañcakrama, and thus the founder of the Ārya lineage belonging to the Guhyasamāja tradition" (Ruegg 1981a:105). Ruegg's association of Ārya Nāgārjuna (the author of the Guhyasamāja literature) with the Nāgārjuna mentioned by I-ching appears to stand or fall on whether or not the Guhyasamāja was included in a vidyādharapiṭaka during the 7th century. Given the present state of our knowledge this is uncertain at best.

(3) 8th century (second half): Wayman says, "In the second half of the eighth century we must place both the

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[23] One may also note that a Chinese biography of the Indian Vajrayāna missionary Puṇyodaya (Chinese: Na-t'i), composed between 664-667, preserves a report that Puṇyodaya was a disciple of Nāgārjuna (Lin 1935:89).

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tantric Nāgārjuna of the 'Ārya School' and Buddhaśrījñāna of the 'Jñānapāda School'" (Wayman 1968b:100). Again, "Padmavajra would fall in the second half of the eighth century, just as do the tantric Nāgārjuna of the Ārya school and Buddhaśrījñāna of the Jñānapāda school" (Wayman 1977:96). Wayman's dating of Ārya Nāgārjuna ultimately depends on his interpretation of the legends of Indrabhūti, who is traditionally held to have introduced the Guhyasamāja. Unfortunately, western scholars and traditional scholars are agreed that there were at least two Indrabhūtis. The hagiographies depicting these individuals are if anything even more murky and problematic than those of Nāgārjuna, and thus they do not form a solid foundation for the solution of our problem.

(4) 9th century (or later): Matsunaga says, "In regards to the period of the Tantrists Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti, according to some lineages which were transmitted in Tibet, we can presume that these Siddhas were living between the 9th century[24] and the middle of the 11th century. Bu-ston also concurs that the Saint [i.e., Ārya]

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[24] Matsunaga cites G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. 1, p. 214. However, the guru lineages Tucci lists contain a number of unresolved problems (cf. Tucci 1949:231).

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school prospered in this same period.[25] In comparison with the Jñānapāda school whose founding is placed at the latter half of the 8th century, we will probably have to recognize that the Saint school was established at a later period" (Matsunaga 1977b:XXX-XXXI). In a more recent publication he says, "The 'Phags-lugs [i.e., the Ārya tradition] flourished around 1000 A.D." (de Jong 1984:111). Matsunaga's reliance on Tibetan hagiographical materials here is an anomaly. His general approach is to avoid it altogether in favor of studying primary texts in Sanskrit, and Chinese and Tibetan translations. His more usual attitude is summed up in his statement that, "The origin of Tantrism is related in Indian and Tibetan legends in the form of myths as is only natural in the history of a mystical religion. Today it is necessary to search for the origin of Tantrism through historical documents and materials that are detached from such mythological traditions" (Matsunaga 1977a:VII; cf. 1977b:XXVI-XXVII). We should apply similar methodological principles to the Indo-Tibetan legends concerning Ārya Nāgārjuna. Unless we are able establish external criteria

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[25] Matsunaga cites Bu-ston, gSang ba'i sgo 'byed, fols. 38, 39.

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as a control, it is better not to use hagiography for chronological purposes.[26]

As Wayman points out, "It simply is not possible yet to pinpoint with accuracy the date of Nāgārjuna as 645 A.D., the date given by B. Bhattacharyya in the introduction (p. xxx) to his edition of the Guhyasamāja" (Wayman 1977:89). In fact, in the more than fifty years that have passed since Bhattacharyya's work was published scholars have not even come to a consensus on which century Ārya Nāgārjuna lived.[27] When one considers that more effort has been applied to the study of Ārya Nāgārjuna than any other of the early siddhas, it is

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[26] Of course hagiography is our main source of information on many obscure aspects of Vajrayāna history. It tells us a great deal about the Vajrayāna tradition's own view of its origins and development, and it is invaluable for this reason alone. Used judiciously it can even provide us with solid historical facts when external evidence corroborates its testimony. Unfortunately, many scholars, especially earlier in this century, have used this material indiscriminately, simply citing this or that chos 'byung to prove a point. The manifest confusion created by this practice has led some scholars to believe that all Indo-Tibetan hagiography is historically worthless, which is certainly not the case.

[27] Guhyasamāja works by Ārya Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Candrakīrti and other members of the Ārya tradition were translated by Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) and others of this period (cf. Snellgrove 1987:477-479). Thus, we know that Ārya Nāgārjuna and his school flourished some time prior to the beginning of the 11th century.

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obvious that we are a long way from a reliable chronology of the early masters of the Vajrayāna.

Establishing a workable chronology for the different Vajrayāna systems and the masters that taught them is the most urgent desideratum in the study of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. Until some basic landmarks are determined it will be impossible to discuss the development of the Vajrayāna in historical terms. There is no lack of source materials for these studies, but extracting historical information from them requires a great deal of effort and patience.

An integrated approach to this problem is required. A basic tantra should be studied in conjunction with the full range of its commentarial and allied literature. The relationships that exist among the texts in a tantric corpus often shed a great deal of light upon the development and relative chronology of a tantric school. Information gained in this way can be compared and supplemented with the traditional hagiographic accounts of the school. When available, external data - manuscript and translators' colophons, travellers' accounts, inscriptions, iconography, etc. - should be fully utilized. Once a tantric tradition has been studied in this fashion it will be possible to make informed

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statements about what can be known of its origins and historical development.

The different Buddhist tantras did not originate and develop in isolation. They present a common world view that allows us to treat the Vajrayāna tradition as a unified whole. When a sufficient number of individual Vajrayāna systems have been thoroughly investigated and compared, it will become possible to write a history of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism. As a contribution towards that distant goal, the following chapter examines the origin and development of the Kālacakra in India.

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Chapter 6: The History of the Kālacakra in India

In an article entitled "A Brief History of the Kālacakra" (Newman 1985) I traced the entire history of this Vajrayāna tradition from its inception through to the present. There is no need to repeat all of that information here, especially since much of it is drawn from the portions of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā that are translated in the second part of this dissertation. Instead we will examine the history of the Kālacakra in India, the land of the Kālacakra's birth and early development. In particular, we will focus on the early history of the Kālacakra in India because it is the most problematic and important period in the formation of the system. The first masters of the tradition disguised themselves with pseudonyms. As a result, the Indian oral traditions recorded by the Tibetans contain a mass of contradictions. Nevertheless, when external criteria such as textual references and colophons are used as controls, much sound historical information can be extracted from these legends. Information obtained in this way provides a working historical framework for the study of the Kālacakra literature.

According to the Vimalaprabhā and the Kālacakra tradition, the Buddha taught the Kālacakra tantra at Śrī

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Dhānyakaṭaka.[1] Dhānyakaṭaka was the site of a huge marble stupa located at what is now the village of Amaravati in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. Although the stupa was razed for building materials by a petty raja at the beginning of the 19th century, enough pieces of it remain in museums in India and Europe to show that it was one of the architectural wonders of the ancient world. Inscriptions found at the site date later additions to the stupa to the 2nd century A.D., but the core was probably much older.

The region around the Dhānyakaṭaka stupa was the homeland of various Buddhist schools that played an important role in the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[2] It is likely that one of these schools, the Caitikas, were so called because they were based at the caitya (= stupa) of Dhānyakaṭaka. A late commentary to the Kathāvatthu, the Nikāyasaṃgraha, attributes the fabrication of a gigantic Vajrayāna corpus to one of the Andhra schools,

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[1] For more on this see: Hoffmann (1973); Newman (1985:52-54), (1987:93, 97). (N.B.: In note 23 of the last article cited strike the second sentence and read: "These quotations do not appear in the Vimalaprabhā.") Dhānyakaṭaka is spelled dhānakaṭaka at Vimalaprabhā III.1.5 (MS B 96b/6; Bu 2.247/2-3); the two forms are synonyms.

[2] See Beal (1884:2.221-227), Tucci (1930:153 [n. 1]), Saṅkṛtyāyana (1934), Warder (1980:293, 326-330, et seq.), Chandra (1984).

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the Vajraparvatas, and notes that this tradition was introduced to Sri Lanka in the 9th century (Chandra 1984:106-110). The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a Vajrayāna text containing materials of varying antiquity, makes special mention of Dhānyakaṭaka as a place to practice tantra.[3]

The early Buddhist traditions concerning Dhānyakaṭaka require more research before we can say anything definite about this region's actual role in the early history of the Vajrayāna. However, it is clear that the Kālacakra tradition holds that the Vajrayāna originated at Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka.[4]

The Śrī-Kālacakratantrottara-tantrahṛdaya-nāma says:

> /grub pa rnams kyi dpal ldan 'bras phung chos kyi dbyings su stobs bcu'i stobs mnga' sangs rgyas pa yi rgyud rnams bstan/(Peking #5; vol. 1, 180/1/5).
>
> (The Buddha) possessing the might of the ten powers teaches the Buddhist tantras in the sphere of phenomena at Śrī Dhānya for the adepts.[5]

Nāro says in the Paramārthasaṃgraha:

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[3] See Saṅkṛtyāyana (1934:212; cf. 199 [n. 1], 202, 206, 208). Hsuan-tsang records a curious story about Bhāvaviveka's practice of a vajrapāṇidhāraṇī at Dhānyakaṭaka (Beal 1884:2.225-226).

[4] For more on this see Hoffmann (1973). In this article Hoffmann has edited and translated the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of a passage from the Kālacakra mūlatantra dealing with the Buddha's first teaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka.

[5] My translation is tentative: lacking the Sanskrit or a commentary it is difficult to make sense out of the verses of this text.

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...śrīdhānye niyatamantranayadeśanāsthāne mahāsukhavāse vajradhātumahāmaṇḍale vajrasiṃhāsane sthitaḥ...

...dpal ldan 'bras spungs su nges par sngags kyi tshul bstan pa ste gnas bde ba chen po'i gnas su rdo rje dbyings kyi dkyil 'khor chen por rdo rje seng ge'i khri la bzhugs pa... (Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 3; (T) 106/3/2-3).

[The Bhagavān] dwelt at Śrī Dhānya, the definite place of the teaching of the mantra system, in the abode of great bliss, the great mandala of the sphere of vajra, on the vajra lion throne...

Likewise, Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda says in the Sekodeśaṭippaṇī:

gṛdhrakūṭe pi maitreyaḥ prajñāpāramitānayaṃ/
buddho mantranayaṃ śuddhaṃ śrīdhānye deśayiṣyati//
iti vacanād bhagavataḥ śrīdhānya eva mantranayadeśanā/ anyadeśe punar yat tantrādhimukto janas tad abhiprāyena daśabhūmīśvaramahābodhisattvaḥ saṅgītikāro 'nyo vā tat tantradeśanāṃ vistareṇa karoti//(Asiatic Society of Bengal MS #10744 1b/5-6; cf. Shāstri [1917:151-152].)

/bya rgod phung por byams pas kyang/
/shes rab pha rol phyin tshul dang/
/sangs rgyas sngags tshul dag pa ni/
/dpal ldan 'bras spungs su ston 'gyur/
/zhes pa'i gsungs las na//bcom ldan 'das kyis dpal 'bras spungs kho nar sngags kyi tshul bstan pa yin no//gnas gzhan rnams su slar yang//rgyud la mos pa'i skye bo gang yin pa de'i bsam pas sdud par byed pa po sa bcu'i dbang phyug byang chub sems dpa' chen po rnams kyis//gzhan du'm/ de nyid du rgyud rgyas par ston par mdzad pa yin no/ (Peking #2069; vol. 47, 137/3/2-7)

'Maitreya will also teach the perfection of wisdom system at Gṛdhrakūṭa, and the Buddha will teach the pure mantra system at Śrī Dhānya.//'
From the Bhagavān's statement we know that, just as the mantra system was taught at Śrī Dhānya, later, in another region, in accordance with the disposition of a person who admires tantra, another redactor - a

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> great bodhisattva who is a lord of the ten stages- or the same one, extensively teaches the tantra.[6]

Tāranātha gets quite indignant that someone should suggest another site for the first preaching of the Vajrayāna:

> It is well known among the scholars that Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka was the place where the Mantrayāna was originally preached. But what is written in the glosses by some older Tibetan scholars in defiance of this is unknown in India. To write that this place- the name of which should be known even to the foolish Tibetans - was called Saddharma-megha-viśālagañja is only due to a bias for what is baseless and to the tendency of placating (older scholars). This is nothing but the way in which fools befool other fools. Sensible persons do not take it as a serious statement at all" (Chimpa 1970:345).

It is likely that early Kālacakra masters such as Nāro, Sādhuputra, and the author of the Vimalaprabhā were aware of traditions linking Dhānyakaṭaka to the origin of the Vajrayāna. It is not surprising that the Kālacakra, the culmination and synthesis of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism, was associated with a place of such renown.

According to the Kālacakra tradition, the Kālacakra tantra was taken from Dhānyakaṭaka to Sambhala by Sucandra, the Dharma King of Sambhala. In Sambhala the

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[6] I have opted to translate according to the Sanskrit here. The Tibetan translation gives this passage an entirely different sense, and requires a radical remodeling of the Sanskrit grammar.

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Kālacakra was preserved and propagated for many centuries before it was reintroduced into India.[7]

With the introduction of the Kālacakra into India, we descend from the pristine realm of myth and enter the mists of history. As I will demonstrate below, the Kālacakra system first appeared in India at the beginning of the 11th century. However, it is difficult to establish the events surrounding the introduction and early spread of the system. As a basis for discussion, I give below a translation of the account of the history of the Kālacakra in India appearing in Bu ston Rin chen grub's Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig.

Bu ston set this account in writing in 1329, but the sources he drew on are much older, some of them being based on oral traditions ultimately going back to the very birth of the Kālacakra tradition. Bu ston recounts the history of the Kālacakra as it was recorded in two of the

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[7] For the primary legends concerning Sambhala see Newman (1985:54-65, 81), much of which is drawn from Vimalaprabhā I.3, Śrī Kālacakra I.150-170, and other portions of the texts translated in Part II. For Tibetan and Western reactions to these legends (and for discussion of the guidebooks to Sambhala) see Edwin M. Bernbaum's works cited in the bibliography.

As stated in a previous publication (Newman 1985:83-84 [n.4]), I believe "Sambhala" is special name for the Uighur kingdom centered at Khocho that flourished ca. 850-1250. My reasons for adhering to this theory are complicated, and cannot be developed here. I intend to present a detailed treatment of the mythopoetic and historical status of Sambhala in a future publication.

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main Kālacakra lineages in Tibet: the Rwa tradition and the 'Bro tradition. The Rwa tradition originated with the Tibetan translator Rwa Chos rab, who translated the Śrī Kālacakra, the Vimalaprabhā, and other Kālacakra texts with the Newari pandit Samantaśrī around the end of the 11th century. The 'Bro tradition started with the Tibetan translator 'Bro Shes rab grags; he translated Kālacakra texts with the Kashmiri pandit Somanātha somewhat earlier in the 11th century. Following the translation of Bu ston's text, I will analyze and explain some of its information.[8]

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[Bu ston:] According to the Rwa tradition, the Kālacakra and related texts famed as the Bodhisattva

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[8] The following is a translation of Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 56/3-61/2. mKhas grub's TC 167-173 corresponds verbatim to Bu ston's version of the Rwa tradition account, but it differs slightly in the 'Bro lineage account. The differences are mainly in the form of additional information, and I have inserted this as annotations in my translation. (The present translation supercedes my earlier translation in Newman 1985:66-71.) mKhas grub's text was translated by Georges de Roerich (1932:18-22). Roerich's translation is splendid, especially when one considers when he did it. I hope my translation is an improvement on Roerich's - in any case, the journal his work was published in is extremely rare and difficult to obtain.

Those with an appetite for more information about the introduction and spread of the Kālacakra in India should see 'Gos gZhon nu dpal's Deb ther sngon po 885-899, which Roerich (1949:753-766) has reliably translated.

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Corpus[9] appeared in India during the simultaneous reigns of three kings. Taking Vajrāsana[10] as the center, the three kings were: Dehapāla, the Master of Elephants, in the East; Jaugaṅgapa, the Master of Men, in the South; and Kanauj, the Master of Horses, in the West.[11] At that time

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[9] Byang chub sems dpa'i skor; also referred to as the sems 'grel skor gsum - "the corpus of the three bodhisattva commentaries," the byang chub sems dpa'i 'grel pa rnams - the Bodhisattva Commentaries, and other similar forms. These three tantra commentaries are:

(1) Vimalaprabhā by Kalkī Puṇḍarīka.
(2) Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā (Peking #2310) by Bodhisattva Vajragarbha.
(3) Lakṣābhidhanād-uddhṛta-laghutantra-piṇḍārthavivaraṇa-nāma (Peking #2117) by Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

These texts comment on the abridged tantras (laghutantra) of the Kālacakra, Hevajra, and Saṃvara systems respectively, and the latter two commentaries explain their tantras in accordance with the special ideas of the Kālacakra. All three commentaries have stylistic and doctrinal features in common, including passages that correspond virtually verbatim. All three refer to and cite the Paramādibuddha. The latter two commentaries are called piṇḍārthaṭīkā and piṇḍārthavivaraṇa. As the Tibetan translators have shown, these phrases both mean "a commentary on the condensed meaning." However, information presented below leads me to believe they can also be translated as "a commentary according to the thought of Piṇḍo."

[10] Buddh Gaya in present-day Bihar.

[11] "Dehapāla" (de ha pā la) could be a corruption for Devapāla, the Pāla king who reigned c. 812-850 (Sircar 1977:967). "Jaugaṅgapa" (Jau ganga pa) is unidentified, but there were a number of Gaṅga dynasties in the south. Kanauj is not the name of a king, but of the imperial city of Kānyakubja on the upper Ganga. The information in the text appears to be useless for chronological purposes.

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the great pandit Cilu[12] who mastered the Tripiṭaka, was born in Orissa, one of the five countries of Eastern India. Cilu studied all the Buddhist texts at the Ratnagiri vihāra,[13] Vikramaśīlā,[14] and Nālandā.[15] In particular, he studied at the Ratnagiri vihāra that was undamaged by the Turks.[16] Cilu realized that, in general, in order to achieve Buddhahood in a single life one needs the Mantrayāna, and in particular, that he needed the clarifications of these doctrines contained in the Bodhisattva Commentaries. Knowing that these teachings were extant in Sambhala, and depending on the instruction of his deity, he joined up with traders who sought jewels in the ocean. The traders were setting out across the sea, so after agreeing to meet up after six months, Cilu and they went separate ways.

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[12] Tib. Tsi lu.

[13] The ruins of Ratnagiri vihāra are located about 75 kilometers northeast of Cuttack in the Cuttack District, Orissa. Excavations at the site found large quantities of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna art. Tāranātha attributes the foundation of this vihāra to a king Buddhapakṣa (Chimpa 1970:144).

[14] The site of Vikramaśīlā has not yet been established, but Antichak, Bhagalpur District, Bihar is a possibility (Huntington 1984:125-126).

[15] Tib. Nā lendra. The extensive ruins of Nālandā are located in the Nalanda District, Bihar.

[16] Turks did not invade Orissa until around the end of the 12th century.

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Cilu proceeded in stages. Finally, after climbing a mountain, he met a man. The man asked him, "Where are you going?" Cilu replied, "I am going to Sambhala in search of the Bodhisattva Corpus." The man said, "It is extremely difficult to go there, but if you can understand it, you could listen to it even here." Cilu realized that the man was an emanation of Mañjuśrī. He prostrated, offered a mandala, and requested instruction. The man gave all the initiations, the tantra commentaries, and the oral instructions to Cilu. He grasped Cilu, placed a flower on top of his head, and blessed him, saying "Realize the entire Bodhisattva Corpus!" Thus, like water poured from one vessel into another, Cilu realized the entire Bodhisattva Corpus. He went back the way he had come, met with the traders, and returned to Eastern India.

Another tradition[17] says the pandit Cilu was the son of a yogi, and that his father led him to Sambhala. There they met a handsome monk, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. With his blessing Cilu was able to memorize a thousand verses each day. Having memorized all the tantra commentaries, he returned to India where he became renowned by his ordination name "Cilupa."[18]

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[17] It is unclear what this "other tradition" is, but I suspect it is a variant within the Rwa tradition.

[18] Tib. Tsi lu pa.

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Later Cilupa resided in the capital of the king of Kaṭaka.[19] He had three disciples. Because his disciples asked him, he wrote the tantra commentaries down in a volume. One of the disciples remained ordinary, but another, *Jinākaragupta,[20] gained siddhi. The third, "Piḍo Ācārya" or "Piṇḍi Ācārya,"[21] born in Bengal in Eastern India, became a great scholar who comprehended and realized the entire Bodhisattva Corpus.

At that time another king made war on Kaṭaka, so the master and his disciples hid all the texts of the tantras and commentaries in a pit and fled. When the war subsided and they looked for the books, they found that the last halves of the commentaries on Saṃvara and Hevajra were missing. The disciples asked Cilupa to rewrite the missing portions, but he refused, saying that since the

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19 Tib. Ka ṭa ka; modern Cuttack in Orissa.

20 Tib. rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas sbas pa.

21 Below we find the form "Piṇḍa Ācārya." I believe this is the correct form. In the vernacular nominative declension it appears as "Piṇḍo" - see below. In his Dus 'khor ṭīk chen mKhas grub gives these names as "Pi ṭo ā tsā rya" or "Paṇḍi ta ā tsā rya" (TC 169/2), and seems to prefer the latter (TC 169/4). This corruption has gained some currency among Gelugpa authors.

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ḍākinīs had hidden them it was improper to write them again.[22] Cilupa then returned to Eastern India.

Later Piṇḍa Ācārya taught the Bodhisattva Corpus to ācārya *Kālacakrapāda the Elder,[23] who was born in Varendra.[24] *Kālacakrapāda the Elder understood and experienced the teachings as the previous masters had.

Some say that *Kālacakrapada was able to ask for whatever he wished due to a vision of Tārā, and that in dependence on the instructions of Tārā he went to Sambhala. On the way he was met by Avalokiteśvara, who led him to the mandala house in the sandalwood grove at Kalāpa. There he was initiated and given explanations of the tantra commentaries and the books that contained them. *Kālacakrapāda returned to Eastern India and lived at *Phullahari.[25] Among his disciples the four best were

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[22] 'Gos gZhon nu dpal offers some sound arguments contradicting this part of the Rwa account: Deb ther sngon po 898, cf. 896; Roerich (1949:764-765, cf. 762-763).

[23] Tib. Dus zhabs pa chen po.

[24] Varendra is an old name for Northern Bengal.

[25] Tib. Me tog khyim. Phullahari was the name of Naro's hermitage near Nālandā. My reconstruction is conjectural; other possibilities are Kuśumapura or Puṣpapura, old names for modern Patna in Bihar.

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*Kālacakrapāda the Younger, *Vinayākaramati, *Siṃhadvaja, and *Ananta.[26]

*Kālacakrapāda the Younger was born in the East in the Mañjuha region.[27] Some hold he was identical to Dharmākara, but this is unacceptable because Dharmākara was the disciple of Sādhuputra, and therefore is later.[28] The Rwa tradition says that *Kālacakrapāda the Younger taught the Bodhisattva Corpus to Ratnākara, who taught it at Nālandā. However, previous lamas have said that the two were friends, and that *Kālacakrapāda the Younger erected a Kālacakra temple at Nālandā and attracted many pandits as his disciples. These lamas said that since this correlates with other lineages, there is no need to mention Ratnākara.[29]

*Kālacakrapāda the Younger thought that if the Kālacakra was propagated in Magadha it would spread

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[26] Tib.: Dus zhabs chung ba; 'Dul ba 'byung gnas blo gros; Seng ge rgyal mtshan; mTha' yas.

[27] Unidentified; Northern Bengal?

[28] There were at least two pandits with names beginning with "Dharmākara" who lived during this period, Dharmākaramati and Dharmākaraśānti. The latter is more likely; two of Sādhuputra's works were apparently written for Dharmākaraśānti (Chimpa 1970:308 [n. 18]; cf. 316). See also Grönbold (1982:343, etc.).

[29] "Ratnākara" refers to Ratnākaraśānti, or Śānti, a famous scholar who lived during the 10th-11th centuries; see below.

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everywhere. During the period when The One Having A Wooden Seat[30] was ruling Magadha and the Sendhapas[31] controlled Uddaṇḍpura vihāra,[32] *Kālacakrapāda the Younger went to Nālandā. Above the door of the vihāra he drew the mantra of The One Possessing Power In Ten Aspects.[33] Below the mantra he wrote:

> Those who do not know the Paramādibuddha do not know the Nāmasaṃgīti. Those who do not know the Nāmasaṃgīti do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara. Those who do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara do not know the Mantrayāna. Those who do not know the Mantrayāna are all samsaric - they are separate from the path of Bhagavān Vajradhara.[34]

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30 Tib. Shing stan can. For more on this mysterious person see Roerich (1949:1021-1022, 1031). Tucci translated an extract from Padma dkar po's biography of Urgyan pa that contains a reference to "king gShing tan can Rāmapāla" at Buddh Gaya (Tucci 1940:8). Later the biography refers to a king Gopāla (Tucci 1940:9). There seem to be a number of anachronisms in the account, but this may be a garbled reference to Shing stan can. The Pāla kings Rāmapāla and Gopāla ruled c. 1072-1126 and 1128-1143 respectively (Sircar 1977:968). Rāmapala's dates appear to fit the circumstances of the stories in the Blue Annals.

31 The "Sendhapas" were Sinhalese Theravāda monks active in Magadha during the Pāla and Sena dynasties. I have collected a number of references to them from Tibetan and Indian sources, and intend to publish an article on them.

32 Tib. O danta pu ri. Uddaṇḍapura was located at Bihar Sharif, Nalanda District, Bihar (Huntington 1984:116).

33 Skt. daśākāravaśī; Tib. rnam bcu dbang ldan.

34 This is part of the Kālacakra manifesto that appears at Vimalaprabhā I.6.2. For an edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan and a translation of the entire

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About five hundred pandits living at Nālandā were displeased with this, and debated with *Kālacakrapāda the Younger. But he defeated them all with the profound and vast nature of the Kālacakra doctrines, and they became his disciples. In particular, Mañjukīrti, Abhiyukta, Pandit *Parvata,[35] Dā Bodhisattva,[36] Abhaya, *Puṇya the Great,[37] Gambhīra the Kashmiri,[38] Śāntagupta, Guṇarakṣita, Somanātha, rTsa mi,[39] and other scholars became his disciples. Even the royal family, the kshatriyas, and the merchants had such faith that they copied texts and created the causes for their future realization of the doctrines. In this way the Kālacakra became widely spread. Later Pandit SamantaśrīBhadra, born

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passage see Newman (1987:93).

[35] Tib. Ri bo pa.

[36] Tib. Dā byang chub sems dpa'.

[37] Tib. Puṇya chen po. I assume this refers to Puṇyaśrī, alias Puṇyākaragupta, alias *Mahā Vajrāsana; cf. Chimpa (1970:305).

[38] Cf. Chimpa (1970:287, 291).

[39] rTsa mi/Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa, alias Buddhakīrti, of Mi nyag - the Hsi Hsia or Tangut kingdom. He seems to have been of Tibetan stock, and was a contemporary of Abhayākaragupta. See Roerich (1949:index), Chimpa (1970:314).

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in Patan[40] in Nepal, heard the Kālacakra taught by five masters, and in particular followed Mañjukīrti.

According to the 'Bro tradition,[41] the Kālacakra was brought to India during the time Kalkī Śrīpāla taught the Dharma. A couple who practiced the yoga of Yamāntaka performed the ritual for the birth of a son as it appears in the Yamāntaka tantra, and had a son. When he grew up he learned that in the South[42] the bodhisattvas themselves taught the Dharma, and he went to listen to them. With his psychic power Śrīpāla knew of the youth's pure motivation and enthusiasm for the profound Dharma. He knew that if the youth journeyed to Sambhala it would endanger his life [(mKhas grub:) because of the waterless desert wasteland that takes four months to cross. Śrīpāla used an emanation body to meet the youth at the edge of

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40 Tib. Ye rang; cf. Snellgrove (1987:365 [n. 114]).

41 Bu ston starts his account of the 'Bro tradition with an aside: "Making the Kalkīs Śrīpāla, Hari, and Vikrama into one Kalkī is unacceptable. Since Śrīpāla, Hari, and Vikrama are taught as having different declensional endings in the Indian manuscripts, it is accepted that they are different." For a discussion of this see Reigle (1986). mKhas grub's introduction to the 'Bro lineage (TC 171/1-3) differs from Bu ston's.

42 Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 59/7 reads: lho phyogs na; i.e., "in the South"! Given that, as we will see, the 'Bro tradition prays to "Kalkī Śrīpāla at the end of the southern ocean," I believe Bu ston's text is not corrupt. mKhas grub (TC 171/4) reads: byang phyogs na; i.e., "in the North," which is where one would expect Sambhala to be.

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the desert. The Kalkī asked the youth, "Where are you going, and why?" When the youth told him his intention the Kalkī said, "That road is very difficult. But if you can understand these things, could you not listen to them even here?" The youth realized that this was an emanation of the Kalkī, and asked him for instruction. Right there the Kalkī initiated the youth, and for four months he taught him all the anuttara tantras, especially the three inner Bodhisattva Corpus commentaries. Like a vase filled to the brim, the youth realized and memorized all the tantras.][43] When he returned to India he became renowned as an emanation of Mañjuśrī, and his name was "*Kālacakrapāda."

At that time in India there was a very dull monk who wanted to increase his intelligence. Following the instructions he received from his deity in a dream, he made an image of the goddess Kurukullā out of coral, and inserted it in the mouth of a female corpse. Sitting cross-legged on the corpse's back, he practiced for seven days. The corpse's face looked up, and she said, "What do you want?" Although he wanted to be able to memorize all that he read, due to his stupidity he said that he wanted

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[43] This annotation is TC 171/5 ff. Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 59/7-60/2 says the same thing, but omits a few details.

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to be able to memorize all that he wrote. The corpse said, "So be it." Due to this he was called Pandit Vāgīśvarakīrti.[44] He lived at the vihāra of Khasarpaṇa,[45] and once he asked the ācārya *Kālacakrapāda, "How many tantras do you know?" The ācārya answered, "I know this, and this, and this...," but it is said that Vāgīśvarakīrti could not even remember the names of the tantras![46]

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[44] Tib. Ngag gi dbang phyugs grags pa; "The Renowned Lord of Speech." A famous scholar of the early 11th century; see Chimpa (1970:295 [n. 13], 296-299).

[45] Grönbold notes: "Ein Khasarpaṇa-Vihāra in Puṇḍravardhana wird von Tāranātha erwahnt, Schiefner [Tāranāthas Geschichte] S.144f., 203, 232 [cf. Chimpa (1970:257, 307-308)]. Einen Tempel des Khasarpaṇa gab es im 11.Jh. im Kloster Somapura, Nordbengalen, s.Dasgupta, Obscure relig. Cults, S.10" (Grönbold 1969:57 [n. 3]). In Tāranātha's account of the travels of his guru Buddhagupta he mentions that Buddhagupta went to Bengal and spent about twenty days in prayer at Khasarpaṇa in the Puṇḍravardhana region (Tucci 1931:697-699). I think it likely that the Khasarpaṇa vihāra was nearby and attached to the great Somapura vihāra, the ruins of which are located at Paharpur, Rajshahi District, Bangladesh (cf. Huntington 1984:160). For background on Puṇḍravardhana and Somapura/Paharpur see Law (1968:291-294).

[46] For a bizarre inversion of this story see Deb ther sngon po 889-890; Roerich (1949:757-758). There the stupid monk is Piṇḍo, who became known in Magadha as Vāgīśvarakīrti! 'Gos gZhon nu dpal rightly rejects the veracity of this version of the story, and gives a good reason for doubting it (Deb ther sngon po 897; Roerich 1949:763). I strongly suspect that the version in our text is the original one, and that the inverted version was invented in defense of Vāgīśvarakīrti. I also believe this is evidence that there was some friction between Piṇḍo and Vāgīśvarakīrti (and others) having to do with the innovative doctrines of the Kālacakra.

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*Kālacakrapāda had many disciples, and most of them became yogis. From among them the one that maintained the tradition of teaching was his disciple Nālendrapa, also renowned as "*Kālacakrapāda the Younger." He is said to have possessed qualities equaling his guru's. [(mKhas grub:) Some accounts say *Kālacakrapāda the Younger and Nālendrapa were guru and disciple.]

At that time Somanātha, the very intelligent son of a brahman, was born in Kashmir. For twelve years he learned his father's heterodox dharmas, but his mother was a Buddhist and she told him that he should study her religion. She put him under the tutelage of the Kashmiri pandit called "*Brāhmaṇapāda."[47] Since Somanātha was very handsome, the pandit's daughter said, "You must have intercourse with me in order to listen to the Dharma." Somanātha accepted that and listened to a lot of Buddhist Dharma.

[(mKhas grub:) At that time *Kālacakrapāda the Elder's disciple *Vinayākaramati[48] sent the Sekoddeśa and a commentary on the Sekaprakriyā[49] to *Brāhmaṇapāda.

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[47] Tib. Bram ze zhabs. Deb ther sngon po 890 gives his name as Sūryaketu (cf. Roerich 1949:758).

[48] Tib. Dul ba'i blo gros.

[49] The Sekaprakriyā (Peking #7 & #4609) presents the Kālacakra initiation rites. It is composed of three blocks of verses extracted from the Śrī Kālacakra, two

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*Brāhmaṇapāda showed them to Somanātha, who read them and admired them a great deal.][50] Somanātha went to Magadha, met the Elder and Younger *Kālacakrapādas, and received instruction on the doctrines of the Bodhisattva Corpus.

At that time Somanātha engaged in a debate with the Kashmiri scholar *Ratnavajra,[51] and won. *Ratnavajra told Somanātha that he should go elsewhere lest *Ratnavajra's disciples lose faith in him. Somanātha acquiesced, thinking that he would spread the Kālacakra in Tibet, which he did.

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Before we discuss the preceding accounts of the introduction and early spread of the Kālacakra in India, we will establish some relevant chronological landmarks. The following dates are determined with varying degrees of certainty, but all of them are at least plausible.

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from the third chapter and one from the fifth. The commentary referred to is probably Dārika's Śrī-Kālacakratantrarājasya-sekaprakriyāvṛtti-vajrapadodghaṭi-nāma (Peking #2072).

[50] Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 60/7 simply says: "Somanātha read the Sekoddeśa." mKhas grub's version agrees with the account at Deb ther sngon po 891 (Roerich 1949:758).

[51] Tib. Rin chen rdo rje. Tāranātha gives an account of *Ratnavajra; cf. Chimpa (1970:295 [n. 13], 301-302).

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Chronological Landmarks

In the Early History of the Kālacakra

Pāla Regnal Periods[52]	circa
Mahīpāla I	977-1027
Nayapāla	1027-1043
Vigrahapāla	1043-1070
Mahīpāla II	1070-1071
Śūrapāla II	1071-1072
Rāmapāla	1072-1126

Nāro	
Nirvana	1040[53]

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[52] All dates for the Pāla kings are taken from Sircar (1977:968), which represents the present state of our knowledge of Pāla chronology. See the useful survey of the subject in Huntington (1984:29-38). No one would want to rely too heavily on the shifting sands of Pāla regnal periods, but the basic sequence and approximate dates are fairly well established.

[53] Turrell V. Wylie has demonstrated that Herbert V. Guenther's dates for Nāro, i.e, 1016-1100, are untenable (Wylie 1982). Indeed, it is odd that Guenther ever considered these dates as possibilities, because they would make Nāro a youth when Atiśa went to Tibet. In any case, Wylie concludes: "Let the historical record show that Nāropa was born in A.D. 956 and died in A.D. 1040: the same Iron-Male-Dragon year in which Mi-la-ras-pa was born and Atīśa left India on his way to western Tibet" (Wylie 1982:691). Wylie has made a convincing case for the date of Nāro's nirvana, but I would like to see more evidence before accepting his date for Nāro's birth. In particular, we must ask where Nāro's hagiographer obtained such a wonderfully precise date for Nāro's birth. Nāro's

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Atiśa[54]

Birth.....982

Left India for Tibet.....1040

Calculation of Doctrine's Duration.....1051[55]

Nirvana.....1054

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birth date is given in the hagiography Guenther translated in the element-animal sexagenary cycle format, which was never used in India.

[54] The dates for Atiśa's birth, departure to Tibet, and nirvana are commonly accepted. Recently Helmut Eimer has made an exhaustive study of the sources for biographical information on Atiśa, and he concurs with the accepted dates for these events (Eimer 1974:19-22). (Note: I follow Eimer in adopting the spelling "Atiśa" in place of the earlier usage "Atīśa.")

[55] mKhas grub's Dus 'khor ṭīk chen says: de nas lcags mo yos bu'i lo la jo bo chen po rjes brtsis dus lo sum stong dang brgya brgyad cu rtsa bdun 'das (TC 140/3); "Then, in the Female-Iron-Hare year [1051] when the great Jo bo rje [Atiśa] calculated [the duration of the doctrine], 3,187 years had elapsed [since the parinirvāṇa]."

The chronological tables (re'u mig) appended to Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor's dPag bsam ljon bzang say: lcags yos/ jo bos 'dir bstan rtsis mdzad ces mkhas grub kyis gsung pas jo bo chu rta lo bar nges kyang bzhed/ (Re'u mig 8); "Iron-Hare [1051]: Since mKhas grub says, 'Jo bo [Atiśa] calculated the duration of the doctrine at this time,' he also asserts that it is definite that Jo bo [lived at least] until the Water-Horse year [1042]."

Hoffmann misunderstands the Re'u mig entry, and thinks it refers to Atiśa's having composed a text on chronology as part of a Tibetan calendar reform (Hoffmann 1956:117-118; 1961:122-123; 1975:142). A bstan rtsis is not a "booklet on chronology," and it does not necessarily have anything to do with the Tibetan sexagenary cycle. It is a calculation (rtsis) of the duration of the doctrine (bstan pa); i.e., the time that has elapsed since the Buddha achieved parinirvāṇa (cf. Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo 1129).

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Somanātha

Visited Tibet.....1064[56]

Abhayākaragupta

Nirvana.....1125[57]

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[56] Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo 3216:

1064, shing 'brug/ kha che zla ba mgon po bod du byon/

"1064, Wood-Dragon: The Kashmiri Somanātha came to Tibet."

The compilers of the chronological table in the Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo do not cite a source for this, but it is probably Deb ther sngon po 100, which is not quite so precise. In any case, the third quarter of the 11th century is almost certainly the period Somanātha was active in Tibet. 'Gos gZhon nu dpal places Somanātha's visit to Tibet shortly after Atiśa's demise (Deb ther sngon po 100; Roerich 1949:72). Elsewhere he says Somanātha's visit took place during the latter half of the life of Grwa pa mNgon shes (Deb ther sngon po 887; Roerich 1949:755), who lived 1012-1090 (Deb ther sngon po 125 & 127; Roerich 1949:95 & 97). Again, lCe Zla ba grags pa (alias lCe Candrakīrti), born 1046, studied the Kālacakra under Somanātha (Deb ther sngon po 1058; Roerich 1949:906-907).

[57] Re'u mig 14 (= Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo 3220):

shing sbrul/ slob dpon a bhyā ka ra gshegs/

"Wood-Snake (1125): Ācārya Abhayākara[gupta] passed away."

As is only too often the case, Sum pa mkhan po cites no source for this date. Nevertheless, it fits the known facts. Abhayākaragupta dated a number of his compositions in the current regnal year of Rāmapāla (reigned c. 1072-1126):

(1) Buddhakapālatantraṭīkā...Rāmapāla 25 = c. 1097 (Shāstri 1917:163).
(2) Munimatālaṃkāra.....Rāmapāla 30 = c. 1102 (Peking

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With the preceding dates in mind, we are ready to consider Bu ston's version of the history of the Kālacakra in India. First of all, it is obvious that the Rwa and 'Bro traditions give divergent accounts of the Indian origins of the Kālacakra. In addition, the Rwa tradition is divided into a number of conflicting opinions about the introduction of the Kālacakra into India.[58] Nevertheless, we can simplify and schematize the Rwa and 'Bro lineages as follows:

#5299; vol. 101, 277/2/6-7).
(3) Āmnāyamañjarī.....Rāmapāla 37 = c. 1109 (Peking #2328; vol. 55, 248/5/4).

Also, an old manuscript containing the date it was copied provides a terminus ante quem for the composition of this text:

Kālacakrāvatāra copied Śaka 1047 = 1125-1126 A.D.; also, the text uses an astronomical era of 463 years, indicating it was written approximately 60 years after the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā (Shāstri 1917:161-162; Peking #2908; vol. 47, 268/4/7).

This information is consistent with Tāranātha's account of Abhayākaragupta (Chimpa 1970:313-315).

[58] Samantaśrībhadra, the Indian (or rather Newari) source for the Rwa tradition, was one step further removed from the first Indian Kālacakra teacher than was Somanātha, the Indian source of the 'Bro tradition. This may be a factor causing the differences in the Rwa and 'Bro guru lineage lists.

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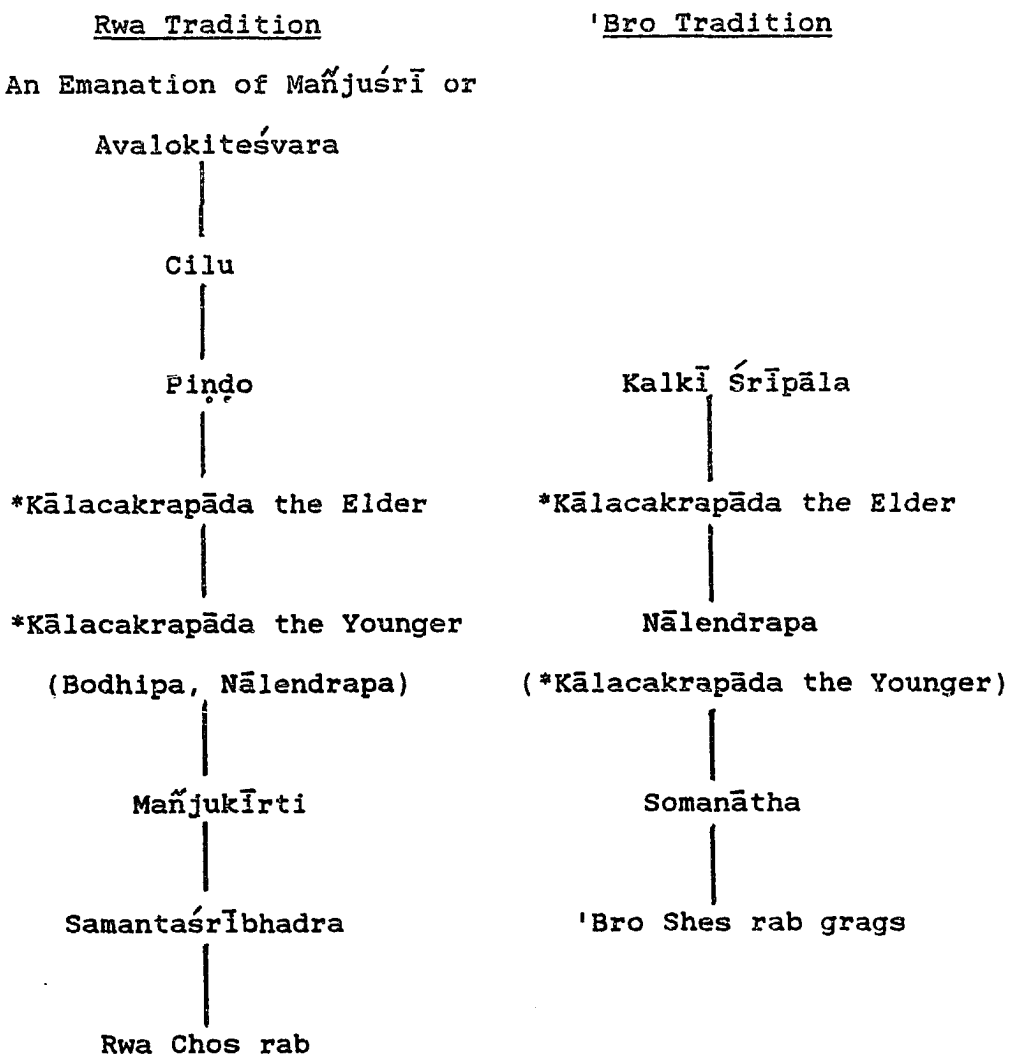

Taking the Rwa lineage first, it is worth noting that none of the Kalkīs in the time frame we are dealing with (after Puṇḍarīka and before Raudra Cakrī) are considered emanations of either Mañjuśrī or Avalokiteśvara. In other words, this aspect of the Rwa account is not very compelling even as a legend. Further, Cilu is a

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particularly obscure individual. Outside of references like the present one, I have not encountered any mention of Cilu, his writings, or his views anywhere else in the Kālacakra literature.[59] There are two works attributed to him in the Tanjur: a commentary on the Guhyasamāja (Peking #2709), and a short instruction on the ṣaḍaṅgayoga (Peking #2090).[60] A precursory examination of these texts unearthed nothing that relates them to the Kālacakra or the Bodhisattva Corpus. Unless further information is

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[59] The only other references to Cilu I have located are in stories of the introduction of the Kālacakra into India that are as obscure as the present one: cf. Roerich (1949:755-757, 761-763, 789); Hoffmann (1956:122-129; 1967:126-128; 1975:144). Cilu is not even mentioned in Tāranātha's history of Indian Buddhism (Chimpa 1970), but he appears in two lineage lists in his bKa' babs bdun ldan (Templeman 1983:66). [Note: Roerich gives the Indic form of "Cilu's" name as "Celuka" in parentheses, and gives the Tibetan form - Tsi lu pa - in the text (Roerich 1949:755-756, 761-762). Other writers simply refer to him as "Celuka." I suspect "Celuka" is merely a corruption found in the Peking Tanjur that was adopted in Palmyr Cordier's catalogue, and thence into western usage.]

About Cilu, Jean Naudou says: "Ajoutons que, pour certains, Kālacakrapāda l'Ancien n'est autre que Tillopā ou Cilupa (en sanskrit Tailikapāda), ce qui explique du même coup la tradition isolée qui fait de Nāropā un disciple de Kālacakrapāda l'Ancien" (Naudou 1968:128; cf. 126-127). Naudou attributes this apodictic statement to Csoma de Körös, Padma dkar po, and 'Gos gZhon nu dpal, but he has cut the Gordian knot on his own. I have read all of these sources, and none of them identify Cilu with Tillo.

[60] It may be significant that this text was translated by Rwa Chos rab under the guidance of Samantaśrī.

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forthcoming, our knowledge of Cilu appears to be limited to the vaguest of legends.

When we reach Piṇḍo,[61] however, the picture brightens

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[61] I have adopted the form "Piṇḍo" from 'Gos gZhon nu dpal's Deb ther sngon po: 887, 889, 890, 896-897 (Roerich 1949:756, 757, 763-764). [Note: In the edition cited, which is printed with moveable type, the name appears as "Piṇṭo." A xylograph I examined consistently has the correct form.] At Deb ther sngon po 894 (Roerich 1949:761) he is referred to as bSod snyoms pa chen po, i.e, the Great Piṇḍo. In a Guhyasamāja lineage we find the name Piṇḍo pa bSod snyoms pa, which is merely an Indic form followed by a Tibetan gloss (Deb ther sngon po 439; Roerich 1949:361). The same thing occurs even more clearly in Tāranātha's bKa' babs bdun ldan, which is worth citing in its entirety:

yang dus 'khor sogs rgyud sde mang po zhig ni/ slob dpon bi ṭo pa ste bsod snyoms bya ba zhig la phyag na rdo rjes lung bstaṅ te rdzu 'phrul gyis sham bha lar byon/ rgyud mang po spyan drangs/ ratna gi rir slob ma mang po la bshad/ bi ṭo pa nyid mthar mi snang ba'i mngos grub brnyes so/ /slob ma drug yod pa las/ gsum gyis rdo rje'i sku grub ste mi snang bar gyur/ dge slong a ba dhū ti pa dang/ bo dhi shrī dang/ nā ro pa gsum gyis dar bar mdzad do/ /yang a ba dhū ti pas sau ri pa la bshad do/ /de la pi ṭo pa ni rgyal po ma hī pā la'i dus su byon yang/ a bhi yukta ka nas kyang brgyud de/ de dag ni brgyud pa 'di'i dbang du byas pa'o/ (bKa' babs bdun ldan 455/4-6)

"Furthermore, with regards to the Kālacakra and many other tantras: An Ācārya Piṇḍo (Bi ṭo pa), i.e., 'bSod snyoms pa,' being instructed by Vajrapāṇi, miraculously went to Sambhala and brought back many tantras. At Ratnagiri he taught them to many disciples. Piṇḍo himself finally obtained the siddhi of invisibility. Among his six disciples, three achieved the vajra body and became invisible; three - the monk Avadhūti, Bodhiśrī, and Nāro- propagated the teaching (i.e., the Kālacakra). Furthermore, Avadhūti taught it to Sauri. With regards to this, although Piṇḍo came during the time of Mahīpāla, (the Kālacakra) was also transmitted through (the later guru) Abhiyukta, and these (traditions) are according to his lineage." (My translation differs somewhat from Templeman's [1983:70].)

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considerably. The renowned Bengali guru Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, better know as Atiśa, refers to "the great Ādibuddha-tantra" in his famous Bodhipathapradīpa.[62] In his auto-commentary to the Bodhipathapradīpa, the Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā,[63] Atiśa informs us that his reference to "the great Ādibuddha-tantra"[64] derives from the oral instructions of his guru Piṇḍo (bSod snyoms pa).[65] Atiśa also tells us that his guru was a monk, and

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This account agrees with the theory I articulate below.

[62] Peking #5343; vol. 103, 21/5/1-4. This and the following references in this paragraph were first noted by Naudou (1968:137, 152), and later researched by Ruegg (1981b:213-219; 1984:372-375).

[63] Peking #5344; vol. 103, 44/4/1-45/4/3. Ruegg notes that the ascription of this commentary to Atiśa has been questioned, but unfortunately he does not give any references (Ruegg 1981b:213 [n. 2]; 1984:373 [n. 8]). Cf. Ruegg (1981a:112 [n. 358]).

[64] Ruegg assumes "the great Ādibuddha-tantra" is a reference to the Kālacakra laghutantra (Ruegg 1981b:215 [n.28], 217; 1984:372). I believe it indicates the Paramādibuddha, the Kālacakra mūlatantra.

[65] Ruegg thinks bsod snyoms pa is not a name, but an epithet, and reconstructs the Indic form as paiṇḍapātika: "a mendicant" (Ruegg 1981b:217, cf. 214-219; 1984:373-374). In this he appears to be following Naudou (1968:152 [n. 4]). In fact, bsod snyoms pa is used to translate paiṇḍapātika (cf. Mhvy 1131), but bsod snyoms alone is used to translate piṇḍa (Mhvy 2439). Given the clear equivalence of piṇḍo and bsod snyoms pa in the Kālacakra legends, I see piṇḍo as nominative singular of piṇḍa (BHSG 8.18), similar to tillo and nāro. The pa of bsod snyoms pa is merely a nominalizing particle, and we find an Indic-Tibetan hybrid form piṇḍo pa. (I consider the forms pi ḍo, pi ṭo, bi ṭo; piṇḍa, piṇḍi, paṇḍi, etc., to be

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that he was native to Suvarṇadvīpa (gSer gling), more specifically, Yavadvīpa (Ya ba dwī pa), i.e., Java. This information correlates nicely with the colophon to the Śrī-Kālacakragarbhālaṃkāra-nāma-sādhana:

> /dus kyi 'khor lo snying po'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs lho phyogs rgya mtsho'i yul du sku 'khrungs pa mkhas pa chen po bram ze bsod snyoms pas mdzad pa/ rdzogs so// //rgya gar gyi pandi ta bha dra bi dhi'i [read: bo dhi'i] zhal snga nas dang/ bod kyi lo tsa ba gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer gyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phap pa'o// (Peking #2081; vol. 47, 233/3/2-4)
>
> Thus ends the Kālacakragarbhālaṃkāra-nāma-sādhana composed by the great scholar, the brahman Piṇḍo (bSod snyoms pa), who was born in the land of the southern ocean. Translated, revised, and established

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either variant transcriptions of a vernacular pronunciation, or mere corruptions.)

Ruegg (following Naudou [1968:152 (n. 4)]) says: "Now it does not seem possible to identify this Bhikṣu-Paiṇḍapātika with Piṇḍo or Piṭo Ācārya, the disciple of Celuka (Tsiluka) and the teacher of Kālacakrapāda the Elder, one of the principal masters in the early history of the Kālacakra; for Piṇḍo/Piṭo is not recorded to have come from Indonesia or Malaysia, and he is in any case said to have been a pupil of Atiśa" (Ruegg 1984:374).

In fact Piṇḍo (bSod snyoms pa) is recorded as having come from Java, or "the land of the southern ocean," both in Atiśa's auto-commentary and in the colophon to Piṇḍo's own work. I follow this evidence over the assertion of the Rwa tradition that he was born in Bengal. Ruegg is correct that a "Pi ṭo pa chen po" - Great Piṭopa - is counted among the five special disciples of Atiśa (dGos 'dod kun 'byung 222; Chimpa 1970:310). But given the fact that Atiśa refers to Piṇḍo (bSod snyoms pa) as his own guru, we seem to be left with a choice of either positing two Piṇḍo/Piṭos, or simply rejecting the tradition recorded by Tāranātha.

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by Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer[66] under the guidance of the Indian pandit Bhadrabodhi.

The fact that Piṇḍo was born in Java, "the land of the southern ocean," appears to explain an otherwise very odd statement found in a prayer of the 'Bro tradition recorded by Bu ston:

> /lho phyogs rgya mtsho'i mtha' drung du/
> /rigs ldan rgyal po dpal skyong la gsol ba 'debs/[67]
>
> I pray to the Kalkī king Śrīpāla at the end of the southern ocean.

This is clear evidence that the 'Bro tradition considered Kalkī Śrīpāla to be another name for Piṇḍo. This has the effect of linking the Rwa and the 'Bro lineages at their

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[66] Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer was active during the first half of the 11th century. He translated other Kālacakra texts with Bhadrabodhi (Peking #6 & #4608; Lhasa #373), as well as with Viśvaśrī (Peking #2073) and Buddhākarabhadra (Peking #2082). He also translated a number of Atiśa's short works on tantra in collaboration with Atiśa himself (Nyingma #4748-4760), and other works with Gayadhara and Vajrabodhi.

'Gos gZhon nu dpal says: "We can see that the statement of gLan Bang so ba and others that, 'The first [Kālacakra] translations into Tibetan are the translations of Gyi jo,' is correct; for it is said, 'Pandit Somanātha visited [Tibet] in the latter half of Grwa pa mNgon shes's life [1012-1090], and in his youth he had heard the Kālacakra from his uncle [Zhang ston Chos 'bar]'" (Deb ther sngon po 887; Roerich 1949:755, cf. 95-97). We will return to this below. We may also note that the colophon to Peking #6 indicates it was translated by Gyi jo ban dhe Zla ba'i 'od zer for "'Bro dge slong," who I assume to be 'Bro Shes rab grags (Peking #6; vol. 1, 182/2/1).

[67] bLa ma dam pa rnams la gsol 'debs kyi dpe le tshan brgyad pa 319/6. (In the xylograph "gsol ba 'debs" is represented by an "X".)

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virtual beginnings because, as indicated above, the Rwa tradition holds that Piṇḍo was the teacher of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder, and the 'Bro tradition gives the same honor to Kalkī Śrīpāla.

Unlike most Tibetan accounts of the introduction of the Kālacakra into India, Tāranātha's dGos 'dod kun 'byung cuts through all of the contradictory evidence and makes a simple assertion:

> pi ṭo pas dus kyi 'khor lo spyan drangs pa...[68]
>
> Piṇḍo introduced the Kālacakra...[69]

Again:

> /rgyal po ma hī pā la'i sku tshe'i smad tsam na/ bi ṭo ā tsā ryas dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud spyan drangs te rgyal po [ma hā pā la] 'di'i dus su dar bar mdzad/[70]
>
> Around the latter half of the lifetime of King Mahīpāla, Piṇḍo Ācārya introduced the Kālacakra tantra; he spread it during the time of this king [Mahāpāla].[71]

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68 dGos 'dod kun 'byung 247.

69 Cf. Chimpa (1970:343). bSod nams 'od zer ba (13th century) also held that Piṇḍo introduced the Kālacakra into India (Deb ther sngon po 894; Roerich 1949:761).

70 dGos 'dod kun 'byung 206.

71 Cf. Chimpa (1970:289). Tāranātha says: "The account of Piṭo ācārya is to be clearly found elsewhere. It is clear that his disciple *Kālacakrapāda lived sometime during the period of this king [Mahāpāla]" (Chimpa 1970:290). Taranatha does not specify where "elsewhere" is, but it is almost certainly his bKa' babs bdun ldan; see n. 61 above for the text and a translation

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From the context of Tāranātha's account, it is clear that the Mahīpāla referred to is Mahīpāla I, who reigned c. 977-1027.[72] This would place Piṇḍo's introduction of the Kālacakra into India around the beginning of the 11th century, which fits the internal evidence of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā.[73] It is interesting to note that in the dynastic list of Sambhala appearing at Vimalaprabhā I.3 Kalkī Mahīpāla is followed by Kalkī

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of its brief account of Piṇḍo's introduction of the Kālacakra.

Tāranātha's dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos bskor gyi byung khungs nyer kho 397/2-6 attributes the introduction of the Kālacakra into India to *Kālacakrapāda the Elder, whose actual name, he says, was Mañjuvajra. This is supposedly according to the 'Bro tradition (which Tāranātha says is the best), but I have not found this identification of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder in any other version of the 'Bro lineage. I wonder if Tāranātha composed the Dus 'khor chos 'byung prior to the bKa' babs bdun ldan (composed 1600) and rGya gar chos 'byung (1608), which represent his more mature work?

72 One should note that no Pāla king by the name of Mahāpāla appears in the inscriptions or in the manuscript colophons. It is well known that Tāranātha's version of the Pāla dynasty is confused in places, and this has led some scholars to simply reject Tāranātha's information out of hand. This attitude is both arrogant and stupid, especially when one considers the uncertainty about the Pālas we suffer even given our superior source materials. (For a more intelligent approach see Ruegg [1982:515-516].) In the present instance it is possible that Tāranātha misread his source, taking mahāpāla as a name when in fact it was intended as an epithet.

73 Śrī Kālacakra I.27 and the Vimalaprabhā's comment thereon contain a year that can calculated as either 1012-1013 or 1027, my preference being the former. See Newman (1985:85 [n. 13]); (1987:100 [n. 24]).

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Śrīpāla. I believe this is not a coincidence, and suppose Kalkī Śrīpāla (i.e., Piṇḍo) included "Mahīpāla" in the dynasty of Sambhala as a tribute to the monarch reigning in Eastern India at the time the Kālacakra was introduced.

If we accept the identification of Kalkī Śrīpāla and Piṇḍo, the Rwa and 'Bro traditions would agree that he was the teacher of *Kālacakrapāda the Elder. In fact I would go one step further, and put forward the proposition that *Kālacakrapāda is yet another name for Piṇḍo. I base this theory on an extremely valuable piece of hitherto overlooked historical data, the translator's colophon to Puṇḍarīka's Kālacakratantragarbhavṛtti-vimalaprabhā-nāma (Peking #4608). This colophon was written by Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer, who translated the text under the guidance of the Indian pandit Śrī Bhadrabodhi.

/sam ba la'i yul byon zhing/
/mngon par shes pa mnga' brnyes pa/
/dus kyi 'khor lo pa zhes pa/
/de'i rim ni brgyud pa dang/
/u rgyan yul skyes bram za'i rigs/
/na ro pa zhes bya ba ni/
/nus pa skyes shing lhas gnang ba/
/de'i rigs rgyud thos pa'i/
/bla ma lha'i sa lhas bstan pa/
/de mnyan rgya 'grel 'bad bsgyur bas/
/mi 'jigs bde ba'i gnas thob shog/
//rgya gar gyi mkhan po shrī bha dra bo dha'i zhal snga nas/ bod kyi lo tsha ba ban de zla ba'i 'od zer

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gyis/ yon bdag zhang btsun dge slong gi phyir bsgyur cing zhus pa'o//[74]

The one called '*Kālacakrapāda' (dus kyi 'khor lo pa) went to the land of Sambhala and gained mastery of the psychic powers. The one called 'Nāro,' a brahman by caste, born in the land of Uḍḍiyāna, was the successor in his (i.e., *Kālacakrapāda's) lineage- he was born from shakti and authorized by the deity. The guru (Śrī Bhadrabodhi) was of his (i.e., Nāro's) caste - he heard the tantra, he was taught by the heavenly deity. By listening to him and making effort to translate this commentary, may I obtain the state of fearless bliss.//
Translated and revised under the guidance of the Indian master Śrī Bhadrabodhi by the Tibetan translator, the venerable Zla ba'i 'od zer, for the patron Zhang btsun dge slong.[75]

As noted above, Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer was almost certainly the first Tibetan to translate texts on Kālacakra, and he was active during the first half of the 11th century. Thus, the preceding colophon contains the earliest record of the Kālacakra lineage - it is practically contemporary with the origin of the tradition.

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[74] Peking #4608; vol.81, 293/1/7-8. I have not altered the orthography. This text seems not to appear in the sDe dge or Co ni Tanjurs. I attempted to compare the readings in the sNar thang Tanjur (#3397; rGyud 'grel PU 13a), but the xylograph at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, is missing the relevant folio.

[75] I suppose Zhang btsun dge slong, i.e., "the venerable monk of the Zhang clan," refers to Zhang ston Chos 'bar. 'Gos gZhon nu dpal records that he was a monk, was learned in the Kālacakra, and was the uncle of Grwa pa mNgon shes (1012-1090) who "in his youth...had heard the Kālacakra from (his) uncle" (Roerich 1949:95 & 755). It would appear that Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer functioned as their translator.

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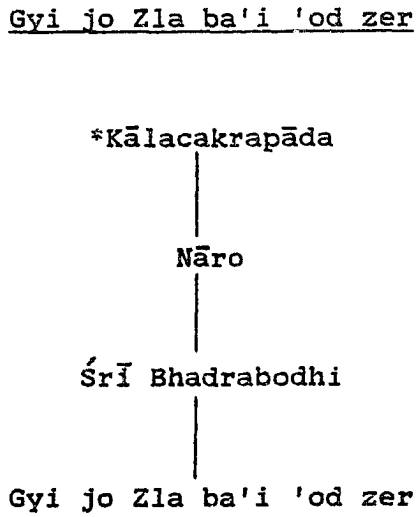
We can schematize Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's Kālacakra lineage as follows:



If we take it as given that Piṇḍo "went to Sambhala" and introduced the Kālacakra into India, it follows that Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer identifies him here as *Kālacakrapāda.[76] This name means "the venerable master of the Kālacakra," a fitting appellation for the master that introduced the system.

Nāro is better known under the Tibetan spelling of

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[76] The reader should recall that Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer translated Piṇḍo's Kālacakragarbhālaṃkāra-nāma-sādhana under the guidance of Bhadrabodhi. Thus it is probable that Piṇḍo preceded Bhadrabodhi in the guru lineage.

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his name - Nā ro pa.[77] We know that Nāro was a master of the Kālacakra: he wrote a large commentary on the Sekoddeśa, the Paramārthasaṃgraha. Then why doesn't he appear in the Kālacakra lineages put forward by the Rwa and 'Bro traditions? In fact he does appear. As Bu ston tells us, Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer's guru Śrī Bhadrabodhi was the disciple of *Kālacakrapāda.[78] Thus, I believe Nāro was called *Kālacakrapāda the Younger, and Nālendrapa - the man cf Nālandā - within the early Kālacakra cult in India. According to Padma dkar po, this view was held by a number of early Kālacakra scholars:

> don dus zhabs chung ba de kha rgyal sras nā landa pa la zer ba yin te/ dpal nā ro pa'o zhes 'bro pa tsa mi nags rin sogs thams cad 'dod/ ('Brug pa'i chos 'byung 221/4-5).
>
> Actually, that very *Kālacakrapāda the Younger was called 'Jinaputra Nālandapa'; the followers of the 'Bro tradition, Tsa mi [Sangs rgyas grags pa], Vanaratna, and others all assert, 'He was Śrī Nāro.'

The title "*Kālacakrapāda the Younger" is applicable because, as Gyi jo tells us, Naro was the lineage holder of *Kālacakrapāda (the Elder), who brought the Kālacakra

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[77] The Tibetans give Nāro's name as Nā ro pa, Nā ro paṇ chen, Nā ro ta pa, and so forth. The manuscript of the Paramārthasaṃgraha preserves a Sanskrit form Naḍapāda (Paramārthasaṃgraha 74). A Sanskrit manuscript edited by Tucci preserves an apparent Prakrit form Nāropā, as well as a semi-Sanskritic Nāropāda (Tucci 1930:150 & 152). I have adopted the common denominator from these forms- Nāro.

[78] Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 74/3-4.

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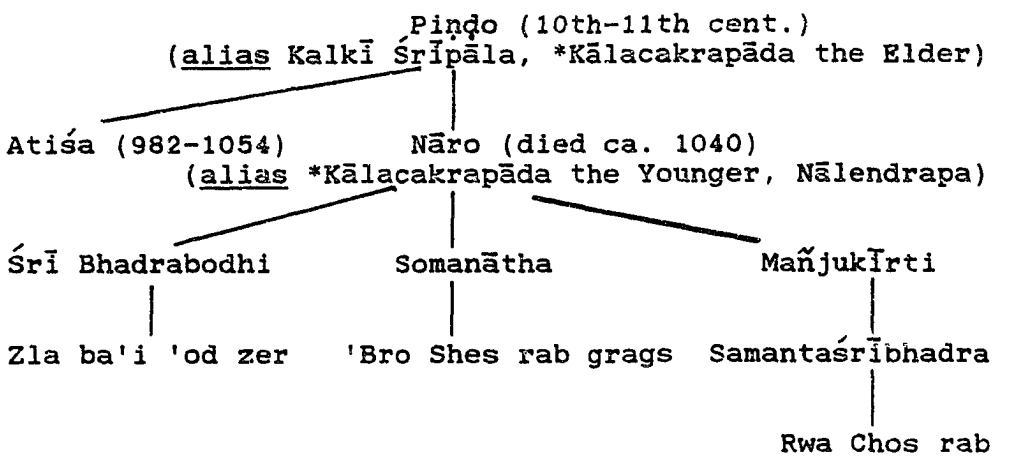
to India from Sambhala. The name "Nālendrapa" certainly fits Nāro, the crest jewel of the contemporary Nālandā vajrācāryas.

To summarize the preceding discussion, I put forward my theory of the introduction and early transmission of the Kālacakra in India and Tibet:



There are no obstacles to this theory from the point of view of chronology because Atiśa was a contemporary and disciple of both Piṇḍo and Nāro. Also, I follow Tāranātha's assertion that Piṇḍo introduced the Kālacakra during the latter half of Mahīpāla's lifetime, and it makes sense that the great Nāro would have studied this extraordinary doctrine directly under the master who introduced it.

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Even if this theory is correct, it does not account for all aspects of the early spread of the Kālacakra in India. One master notably absent from all of the lineages discussed above is Anupamarakṣita. As Günter Grönbold has admirably shown, Anupamarakṣita was the Indian fountainhead of most of the Tibetan traditions of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga - the Kālacakra utpannakrama - which in some ways marks the pinnacle of Vajrayāna esotericism.[79] In the Deb ther sngon po 'Gos gZhon nu dpal says: "Also, Ācārya Anupamarakṣita was not later than Ācārya Nāro, because Nāro quotes his teaching in the [Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāma-] sekoddeśaṭīkā" (Deb ther sngon po 897; Roerich 1949:764). Grönbold notes that Tāranātha and Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor say the same, and concludes: "Wir können somit sage, er lebte um 1000 n.Chr. Exacter ist das Datum zur Zeit nicht zu bestimmen" (Grönbold 1969:125).

The introduction of the Kālacakra into Indian Vajrayāna was not met with universal approbation. The Kālacakra exhibits syncretism with non-Buddhist religious traditions to a degree probably unprecedented in the history of Indian Buddhism. This set off a debate among Indian vajrācāryas of the early 11th century. The

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[79] See all of Grönbold's works cited in the bibliography, but especially Grönbold (1982 & 1984).

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legendary difficulties *Kālacakrapāda the Younger encountered in introducing the Kālacakra at Nālandā are certainly based in fact.

A window on this debate is offered by Abhayākaragupta in his Śrī-saṃpuṭatantrarāja-ṭīkā-āmnāyamañjarī-nāma:

/des na cis stong pa'i dkyil 'khor gzhan pa'o zhes brjod/ gang dus kyi 'khor lor nam mkha'i dkyil 'khor logs su bton nas gsungs pa de ni mu stegs pa'i lta ba la mngon par zhen pa'i nyi ma'i shing rta la sogs pa gdul bya rnams nges pa'i don la gzhug pa la ldem por dgongs pas drang ba'i don kho na ste/ phag la sogs pa 'dod pa'i rjes su 'jug pas ri rab kyi steng gi mtshams su khams gsum pa'i snod kyi 'jig rten gyi bkod pa la sogs pa bstan pa[80] bzhin no/ /'o na dus kyi 'khor lo dang de'i rjes su 'brang ba'i gzhung rnams su theg pa gsum dang 'gal ba'i rnam par gzhag pa mang po rnams bya ste/ de'i gzhung byed pa grags pa dang padma dkar po dang rdo rje snying po dang phyag na rdo rje'i ming can de rnams byang chub sems dpa' rnams ma yin pa kho na'o zhes mang du shes pa rnams smra'o/ /'di'i phyir 'gal ba thams cad ma spangs pa na/ 'ga' zhig tu 'gal ba spong ba'i 'bad rtsol gyis ci bya zhe na/ dus kyi 'khor lor bstan pa rgyud gzhan dang mi 'gal ba'i don gyi cha 'ga' zhig gi ni kho bos rang gzhung gi phyogs rnams su

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[80] Peking: bsten pa; Derge: brten pa.

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rjes su 'brang zhing/ gdul bya 'ga' zhig gi bsam pa'i rjes su 'jug pas 'gal ba'ng kha cig spangs so/ /de las gzhan la ni 'gal ba ma spangs na yang 'di rnams la nyes pa ci yang med do zhes pa shin tu rgyas par brjod pas chog go/[81]

> Thus, why does [the Saṃpuṭa-tantra] say, "The void mandala is other?" The separate space mandala taught in the Kālacakra is solely an intentional meaning taught enigmatically in order to introduce the people to be trained - Sūryaratha and so forth - who cling to heterodox views, to the definitive meaning; just as the arrangement of the environmental world of the three realms on the surface of Meru is taught following the beliefs of the Vārāha-[purāṇa] and so forth.
>
> One might say: "Well, the cognoscenti say, 'There are many things presented in the Kālacakra and the texts that follow it that contradict the three vehicles [of Buddhism]. The authors of these texts, who have the names Yaśas [the redactor of the Śrī Kālacakra, etc.], Puṇḍarīka [the author of the Vimalaprabhā, etc.], Vajragarbha [the author of the Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā], and Vajrapāṇi [the author of the Lakṣābhidhanād-uddhṛta-laghutantra-piṇḍārthavivaraṇa-nāma], are certainly not bodhisattvas.' Therefore, if you do not reconcile all of the contradictions, what is accomplished by striving to reconcile a few of the contradictions?"
>
> Reply: Be satisfied with this very detailed explanation! In the texts we adhere to we follow some portions of the subject matter taught in the Kālacakra that does not contradict other tantras; and we reconcile some contradictions that are taught in accordance with the dispositions of some of the people to be trained as well. As for other things, even if we do not reconcile the contradictions, there is no fault in them at all.

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[81] Peking #2328; vol. 55, 193/4/2-7. Derge #1198; Tanjur rGyud 'grel CHA ff. 198b/5-199a/3, pp. 396/5-397/3. This passage appears in the 21st mañjarī. As noted above, this text was composed in the 37th regnal year of Rāmapāla (c. 1109).

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Among the many questions this passage raises is, "Who were 'the cognoscenti'?" Fortunately, mKhas grub gives the answer to this question. He says it is "well known" that the scholars referred to in Abhayākaragupta's apology are Śānti "and many other Indians" (TC 757). Śānti, an abbreviation and nickname for Ratnākaraśānti, was one of the most important and influential masters of the Vajrayāna during the early 11th century (cf. Chimpa 1970:295, 299-300; Roerich 1949:205-206, 842). The objections of Ratnākaraśānti and other vajrācāryas, including perhaps VāgīśvarakIrti, indicate the radical and innovative nature of the Kālacakra doctrines. I suspect that the Kālacakra's adoption of minor features of brahmanical cosmology was a side issue. As Abhayākaragupta notes, this can be easily explained away as a skillful means of converting the heterodox. The real issue almost certainly involved yoga, more specifically the utpannakrama, the crux of Vajrayāna theory and practice.

Despite the objections of some Vajrayāna masters, the Kālacakra caught the imaginations of many Indian Buddhists. The first half of the 11th century was the most creative period in the development of the Kālacakra tradition. The basic texts of the system - the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā - were composed early in

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the 11th century, and it is likely that the other Kālacakra texts in the Kanjur originated at this time as well. I believe that the texts attributed to Yaśas and Puṇḍarīka, as well as the two Bodhisattva Corpus commentaries attributed to Vajragarbha and Vajrapāṇi, were composed at this time also. In any case these texts cannot be later than Nāro, who cites them in his Paramārthasaṃgraha. The numerous texts in the Tanjur attributed to the Elder and Younger *Kālacakrapādas must, as we have seen, date to the first half of the 11th century. Other early authors of commentaries, sādhanas, and ritual texts include Anupamarakṣita, Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda, and Dārika.

In the latter half of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa (Buddhakīrti) and Abhayākaragupta were renowned teachers of the Kālacakra. Raviśrījñāna was a another noted master of the system at that time. Somewhat later Śākyaśrībhadra (c. 1127-1225) and Vibhūticandra taught in India, and later propagated the Kālacakra in Tibet. We know of these vajrācāryas only because their works are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur and their names are recorded in Tibetan historical literature. However, for every Indian master of note there must have been numerous practitioners whose names are lost to history.

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The Turkish invasions of Magadha and Bengal around the beginning of the 13th century resulted in the destruction of the great Buddhist monastic universities of Nālandā, Uddaṇḍapura, Vikramaśīlā, and so forth. This had the effect of destroying Buddhism as an organized religion in India, and with it went the Indian Kālacakra tradition. However, the disappearance of the Kālacakra, like that of Buddhism, did not occur overnight. Colophons to Indian manuscripts of the Śrī Kālacakra show that the text continued to be copied into the 15th century. More important, we know that the actual study and practice of the Kālacakra continued in India well into the 15th century.[82] Vanaratna (1384-1468) was called "the Last Pandit" because he was one of the last Indian masters to transmit Buddhism to Tibet. 'Gos gZhon nu dpal, author of the Deb ther sngon po, studied the Kālacakra under Vanaratna, and had the highest esteem for his precepts (cf. Roerich 1949:797-805).

Although the Kālacakra tradition is no more in India,[83] it was transplanted into Tibet intact. The

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[82] A reference in Tāranātha's biography of his guru Buddhagupta indicates that the Kālacakra was still current in India during the second half of the 16th century (Tucci 1931:690-691).

[83] In fact, vestiges of the Indian Kālacakra tradition live on in Nepal. I am told that the Newars of the Kathmandu valley still practice the Kalacakra within

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Tibetans not only adopted the Kālacakra, they developed an original interpretation of it that had a major impact on the history of Tibetan Buddhism (see Ruegg 1963). A thorough treatment of the history of the Kālacakra cannot omit the history of the system in Tibet. However, a study of the history of the Kālacakra in Tibet merits a monograph in its own right, and falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

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their Vajrayāna tradition.

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Chapter 7: A Survey of the Kālacakra Tantra

The Kālacakra is one of the most systematically arranged of the Buddhist tantras, and this makes it possible to easily present a coherent overview of the entire system. Here we will simply indicate in broad terms the main subjects treated and the basic intent of this tantra.

The subject matter of the Kālacakra tantra can be subdivided in a number of ways, but the most fundamental division is tripartite: there is an Outer Kālacakra, an Inner Kālacakra, and an Other Kālacakra. The Outer Kālacakra is the cosmos, i.e., the external world. The Inner Kālacakra is the soul, the psycho-physical constituents of the person practicing the Kālacakra tantra. The Other Kālacakra is the transcendent aspect of the tantra, and it in turn can be divided into three: initiation, practice, and gnosis.

Other Kālacakra

Gnosis

Initiation Practice

Outer Kālacakra Inner Kālacakra

Cosmos Soul

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In the Kālacakra, as in so many ancient systems of mysticism, the cosmos and the soul are reflections of one another (cf. Vimalaprabhā I.8.10). Hevajra II.iv.49c says: yathā bāhyaṃ tathâdhyātmam, "As it is without, so it is within." In the Kālacakra there is a special emphasis on the correlation of the elements of the cosmos with the parts of the body, so the slogan here is: yathā bāhye tathā dehe, "As it is without, so it is in the body." Thus, the Kālacakra tantra first presents a cosmology, and then a physiology, all the while emphasizing their essentially homologous nature.

An idealized representation of the cosmos and the soul as a single organism forms the basis of purification (sbyang gzhi) for yoga. In their unpurified state cosmos and soul make up samsara - the person in a state of nescience and suffering. The aim of the Kālacakra yoga is to purify and transform samsara into enlightenment, similar to the way an alchemical elixir purifies and transforms base metal into gold. This yoga of purification is the main subject of the Kālacakra tantra.

The Other Kālacakra is the path of transformation in the Kālacakra tantra. Although this may not be acceptable to traditional scholars, I find it useful to view the three aspects of the Other Kālacakra in terms of categories found in Buddhist philosophical texts: basis,

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path, and result. The Kālacakra initiations form the basis for the development of the Other Kālacakra. During the initiation rites the guru demonstrates that the disciple's psycho-physical constituents are essentially identical to those of the Kālacakra deity. The initiation plants seeds and engenders experiences in the disciple that serve as the basis for the disciple's eventual attainment of enlightenment in the form of Kālacakra. In particular, the discipline taken up by the disciple during the initiation constitutes a necessary condition for advancement on the path.

The practice (sādhana) of the Other Kālacakra represents the actual path of the Kālacakra tantra. In the Kālacakra and other anuttarayoga tantras, practice is divided into two main stages - the generation process (utpattikrama) and the completion process (utpannakrama). The primary function of the generation process is the development of a clear visualization of oneself as the Kālacakra deity, including the deity's abode, the Kālacakra mandala. This process starts with the yogi only able to visualize a rough approximation of the deity's form; it continues until he is able to maintain a precise visualization of the entire Kālacakra mandala in a space the size of a pea for as long as he desires.

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Perfection of the generation process practices provides the yogi with a basis for the completion process. At this stage of practice the yogi maintains his visualization of himself as the deity in the mandala, but in addition he employs more advanced yogic techniques to transform this imagination into actuality. These techniques involve manipulation of physiological processes (mainly, it seems, having to do with respiration and the endocrine system) that results in the controlled production of certain fundamental states of mind. Insight into the nature of mind results in gnosis, the ultimate aim of the Kālacakra tantra.

The first production of gnosis in the completion process is not the end of the path; it marks the first of twelve stages that are analogous to the ten bodhisattva stages of the pāramitā system. The yogi gradually proceeds through these stages, and eventually attains the supreme, unchanging, blissful gnosis of Buddhahood. This is the actual gnosis indicated by the Other Kālacakra: it is the final aim of the Kālacakra tantric yoga.

With this brief sketch of the entire system in mind, we are ready to consider in more detail the contents of the basic texts of the tantra - the Śrī Kālacakra and the

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Vimalaprabhā.[1] The Śrī Kālacakra is the Kālacakra laghutantra, the "abridged tantra." It is an abridgement of the Paramādibuddha, the Kālacakra mūlatantra or "basic tantra." Although the Paramādibuddha, for the most part, did not come down to us, its subject matter is comprehensively summarized in the Śrī Kālacakra. Thus, the Śrī Kālacakra functions as the basic Kālacakra tantra for us.[2] The great commentary on the Śrī Kālacakra is entitled the Vimalaprabhā - "the Stainless Light." It is one of the longest exegetical works Indian Buddhists produced, said to consist of 12,000 lines. The Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā function as a unit: the tantra is mostly incomprehensible without its commentary, and the commentary makes no sense independent of the text it comments on. Together these texts form a kind of esoteric encyclopedia.

The Śrī Kālacakra (and thus the Vimalaprabhā) is divided into five chapters (paṭala) treating the following subjects: cosmos, soul, initiation, practice, and gnosis. This order follows the fundamental structure of the system, as outlined above. The five chapters are in turn

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[1] For a discussion of the history of the early Kālacakra literature see Newman (1985 & 1987).

[2] There are other Kālacakra tantras in the Kanjur that act as summaries of or appendices to the Śrī Kālacakra. See Newman (1985:63).

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divided into varying numbers of "brief accounts" (uddeśa); a synopsis of these follows.[3]

The 1st chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra, the chapter on cosmology, is divided into ten brief accounts. Nine of these are translated in their entirety in Part II of this thesis, omitting only most of the ninth brief account that treats astronomy and prognostication. We will give an analysis of the translation in the next chapter of this introduction, so there is no need to duplicate that information here.

The 2nd chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra treats the soul. The soul can be conveniently divided into two parts: the body and the mind. The first is dealt with at great length in this chapter, the latter more briefly. The chapter begins with a discussion of conception and embryology, which it correlates with various theories of Buddhist soteriology. It then presents an analysis of the person in terms of Buddhists metaphysical (abhidharma) theory, incorporating elements from tantric metaphysiology. Tantric metaphysiology is then treated at

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[3] The following synopsis should be read in conjunction with the detailed précis of the Paramādibuddha given at the beginning of the second brief account of the Vimalaprabhā, translated in Part II of this thesis. There the subject matter of the five chapters of the Paramādibuddha is analyzed into eighty-one topics. These topics are similarly treated in the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā.

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great length, laying out an extremely elaborate presentation of the cakras and channels of the body, as well as the winds and drops that flow through them. At the same time all of the elements of the metaphysiology are shown to have their correlates in both the cosmology and the mandala, for "the body is called 'the mandala'." Following this is an explanation of yogic practices involving the manipulation of the breath that are intended to lengthen life and make the body more workable for the development of the higher yogas. Then comes the practice of alchemy, which in this case means the production of gold through the use of elixirs. The final topic treated in this chapter is the logical analysis of philosophical views. Here a number of heterodox and Buddhist doctrines are examined; the conclusion reached is that the Madhyamaka is the superior view, all others entailing various theoretical and practical faults.

The 3rd chapter presents the Kālacakra initiations.[4]

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[4] For more information on the Kālacakra initiations see: Dalai Lama (1985), Sopa (1985b), Dhargyey (1985:3-16), Mullin (1982:117-123), Dhargyey (1975), Kalu Rinpoche (1982:15-22). These works only treat the first seven of the eleven initiations in any detail, although Glenn H. Mullin, Ngawang Dhargyey, and Kalu Rinpoche briefly describe the four exalted initiations. In the Dalai Lama's book an entire ritual text is translated, together with the Dalai Lama's own comments. However, the unprepared reader will not find this easy reading, and Geshe Sopa's survey of the initiations helps one to gain an overview of the basic processes involved.

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It begins with an explanation of the qualifications of a guru and a disciple, and a warning that if these qualifications are lacking disaster will result. Following this is a prescription for the procedures that precede the actual initiations. These include examining the site, accumulating all of the manifold materials used in the initiation rites, taking control of the site, creating a protective circle, and drawing and laying out the mandala. Then come the actual initiations. The process described includes the blessing of the disciple, leading him into the mandala, and the guru as the deity conferring the worldly and transcendental initiations. Following the description of the initiations the concluding ceremonies are explained. In these the participants worship the inhabitants of the mandala, and then dismiss them.

The 4th chapter presents the yogic practices, primarily the practices of the generation process.[5] It begins with instructions on how to fabricate an image of the Kālacakra deity, and a description of the places that are suitable for the practice of yoga (their main features being a lack of disturbances and easy access to food and

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[5] For information on the Kālacakra generation process see: Jackson (1985), Dhargyey (1985:17-81), Mullin (1982:124-129). For the generation process in general see: Cozort (1986:39-62).

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water). Then come instructions on how to visualize the protection circle and the mandala. The preliminaries to the actual generation process are described next. These entail engaging in the common Mahāyāna path: going for refuge, confessing sins, rejoicing in the merits of oneself and others, generating bodhicitta, meditating on emptiness, and so forth. The actual generation process practices follow: the foremost royal mandala, the foremost royal action, the drop yoga, and the subtle yoga.[6] After these practices, a number of practices aimed at mundane goals - wealth, power, long life, and so forth - are explained. The chapter ends with a description of the fire sacrifice and other means of achieving the accumulation of merit, the primary purpose of the generation process.

The 5th chapter discusses gnosis, including both the completion process which is the path to gnosis, and the resultant gnosis itself.[7] This chapter depicts Buddhahood and the direct means to achieve it. The method is the

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[6] For a description of these see: Jackson (1985:127-134).

[7] For the Kālacakra completion process see: Sopa (1985a), Cozort (1986:115-133), Dhargyey (1985:82-160), Mullin (1982:129-155). For the completion process in general see: Cozort (1986:62-114), Gyatso (1982). The last work cited is an especially detailed exposition of the completion process.

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yogic emulation of the Body, Speech, and Mind of a Buddha, in this case Kālacakra. The Body of Kālacakra is his divine form and his residence, the Kālacakra mandala. The Speech of Kālacakra is his exposition of the Dharma, in particular, all of the tantras of the Vajrayāna. The Mind of Kālacakra is the blissful gnosis that cognizes all knowledge and objects of knowledge. All three of these- Body, Speech, and Mind - work together to effect the enlightenment of all sentient beings.

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Chapter 8: An Analysis of Part II

The second part of this dissertation is a translation into English of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of Śrī Kālacakra I.1-27, I.128-170, and Vimalaprabhā I.1.1-I.9.27, I.10.128-149. The following analysis is intended to serve as a guide to the subjects discussed in the translation.

The first three brief accounts of the Vimalaprabhā, Vimalaprabhā I.1-I.3, do not comment on the Śrī Kālacakra at all. They contain introductory material providing an overview of the subject matter, intention, and history of the Kālacakra system. The Vimalaprabhā's commentary on the text of the Śrī Kālacakra begins in its fourth brief account.

The first brief account of the Vimalaprabhā mostly deals with theology and soteriology. This brief account requires its own commentary to be fully intelligible, and in fact there is a commentary devoted solely to it in the Tanjur (Peking #2066). Since it treats the most difficult topics in the tantra, an entire dissertation could justifiably be written on this portion of the Vimalaprabhā alone. I will present a literal translation based on the commentaries of Bu ston and mKhas grub, and leave a thorough explanation for the future. Vimalaprabhā I.1.1-21 is an extensive homage to Kālacakra in which Puṇḍarīka

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describes the various attributes and qualities of the Kālacakra deity. Vimalaprabhā I.1.22-28 expresses Puṇḍarīka's intention to compose the Vimalaprabhā, briefly mentions the literary history of the Kālacakra system, and exhorts the student to study the system with a guru. Vimalaprabhā I.1.29-75 describes, in a somewhat disorderly fashion, various pitfalls a yogi encounters on the path, contrasting them with their antidotes, and touches on some of the more advanced techniques of yoga. Vimalaprabhā I.1.76-94 portrays the sixteen great fears. On the surface these appear self-explanatory, but in addition to their mundane meaning they refer to obscurations of the sixteen drops that play an important role in the completion process practices. Vimalaprabhā I.1.95-103 expresses Puṇḍarīka's intention to compose, and reasons for composing, the text.

The second brief account of the Vimalaprabhā describes the Buddha's teaching of the Paramādibuddha- the Kālacakra mūlatantra - to King Sucandra of Sambhala. It begins with a brief mention of the circumstances of the teaching - including the place, the entourage, and the requestor - and then it lists the subjects explained in the tantra. This is followed by an analysis of the contents of the Paramādibuddha in terms of eighty-one

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"natural topics."[1] The rest of this brief account describes in more detail the aim of the system, the place the tantra was taught, the entourage, the disciples, the Teacher, the requestor, and the general nature of the tantra. The end of the second brief account mentions the Buddha's prophecy of the development of the Kālacakra tradition, which is portrayed in the following brief account.

The third brief account explains how the Kālacakra system came into being and, in particular, how it was transmitted in Sambhala. This brief account begins by describing the relationship between the Buddha, the Teacher of the tantra, and Sucandra, the requestor of the tantra. Sucandra was an emanation of Vajrapāṇi, the bodhisattva who is the chief redactor of the Vajrayāna. After he establishes the authenticity of the Paramādibuddha, Puṇḍarīka proceeds to do the same thing for the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā. In order to show that the entire history of the Kālacakra is supported by an indisputable source, he cites the Paramādibuddha, i.e., the words of the Buddha. This long prophetic

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[1] The Śrī Kālacakra is divided into thirty-two brief accounts, symbolizing the thirty-two major marks of a Buddha. The Paramādibuddha's eighty-one topics indicate the eighty minor marks of a Buddha, together with the person that forms their substratum.

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quotation shows that the Buddha accepted the abridged Kālacakra tantra, and predicted the dynasty of Sambhala. The rest of this brief account recounts the story of the conversion of the brahman sages of Sambhala, and ends with a description of the language of the Paramādibuddha, the Śrī Kālacakra, and the Vimalaprabhā.

The fourth brief account begins the Vimalaprabhā's commentary on the text of the Śrī Kālacakra. It begins with a discussion of why the introductory words of the tantra differ from those of the sutras and most tantras. It continues with an explanation of the four Bodies of the Buddha, describing and rejecting various wrong views. In the process, Puṇḍarīka provides an interesting argument for the omniscience of the Buddha based on the idea that the Buddha teaches the Dharma using all forms of language. This is favorably contrasted with the case of the Hindu gods, who are limited to the "parochial" Sanskrit language.

The fifth brief account continues the explanation of Śrī Kālacakra I.1. It begins with a discussion of the vajrayoga. The vajrayoga is essentially the integration (yuganaddha) of the two truths, ultimate truth and phenomenal truth. Ultimate truth is emptiness-phenomena's lack of own-being; phenomenal truth is phenomena's existence as phenomena. These two are

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perfectly integrated within the state of Buddhahood, which in the Vimalaprabhā is analyzed in terms of the four Bodies and their various characteristics. The brief account continues with a mention of the Dharma teaching: this is simply the Sanskrit alphabet, which in Indian thought comprehends all sound, and thus all of existence. The fifth brief account closes with a description of the purpose of the Kālacakra system. This consists of the achievement of the two yogic process - the generation process and the completion process - and their result, Buddhahood.

The sixth brief account comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.2. It begins with a description of the five syllable great void and the six syllable drop void, which lie at the basis of the entire Kālacakra system. This is in essence a mystical abhidharma, an analysis of a human being in terms of the different aggregates, elements, and faculties that make up a person. The components in this analysis are identified by Sanskrit syllables, and these are in turn employed in the construction of the Kālacakra mandala. The text continues with a reference to the Sankhya theory of nature and the soul, a list of the Kālacakra initiations, and a mention of the wickedness of vajrācāryas who prey on their disciples.

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The seventh brief account comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.3-9, and takes us into the Kālacakra cosmology. Śrī Kālacakra I.3 presents the Buddha's reply to Sucandra's request for the Kālacakra tantra. The Vimalaprabhā's discussion of this explains the different types of mantras and their functions. Śrī Kālacakra I.4 portrays the Kālacakra cosmogony. Śrī Kālacakra I.5 explains the vajra body. This has ten aspects, and is one of the basic devices used in the Kālacakra system to articulate the homology of the cosmos and the soul. Śrī Kālacakra I.6-7 explains the origination of the components of the Kālacakra abhidharma within the subtle body. These components are given mysterious names, which appear to have stumped even the Tibetan commentators. Śrī Kālacakra I.8 correlates the digits of the moon and the days of the solar year with combinations of Sanskrit syllables. These are used in the svarodaya (a type of prognostication), as well as in yoga. Śrī Kālacakra I.9 locates the series of vowels and consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet in the cakras, and correlates them with the colors and elements that make up the basic structure of the Kālacakra mandala.

The eighth brief account comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.10-25. It continues the exposition of the Kālacakra cosmology, with an emphasis on cosmography. Śrī Kālacakra I.10-12 describes the basic measurements of the cosmos.

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The Kālacakra cosmos consists of a giant mountain, Meru, situated on top of a series of elemental discs in space. Here in the tantra the segments of the cosmos are designated in terms of portions of the body. This follows from the identity of the person and the cosmos that underlies the system, and it is highly reminiscent of Jaina cosmological thinking. In fact the underworld as described here and again in Śrī Kālacakra I.15 is an obvious borrowing from Jaina sources. Śrī Kālacakra I.13 presents the system of linear measurement used in the Kālacakra, which differs from the system used in the Abhidharmakośa. Śrī Kālacakra I.14 begins the description of the thirty-one realms of existence. The terms used here to describe the formless realms are borrowed from Jaina cosmology. Śrī Kālacakra I.15 gives a detailed listing of the realms of existence, starting up at the formless realms and working down through the hells. Here the scheme is essentially identical to that of the Abhidharmakośa, the notable exception being the hells which, again, are borrowed from Jaina thought. Śrī Kālacakra I.16-19 presents geography. Here again there is syncretism, this time with brahmanical, specifically Puranic, ideas. Śrī Kālacakra I.20-21 depicts the direction protectors and the sacred sites as situated throughout the cosmos. Elsewhere in the tantra these are

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identified with parts of the body and the mandala in a more detailed fashion. Śrī Kālacakra I.22-23 describes the cycling of the four ages around the earth surface. Śrī Kālacakra I.24-25 describes time reckoning. The first of these verses explains that the time periods, although given identical names, vary according to the type of being experiencing them.

The ninth brief account comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.26-94. I only translate the first two verses in this dissertation. Śrī Kālacakra I.26 presents the basic elements of the Kālacakra chronology, including the origin of Islam and the subsequent corruption of the Indian astronomical tradition. Śrī Kālacakra I.27 explains the astronomical era used in the Kālacakra astronomy. This verse provides crucial internal evidence for dating the main texts of the Kālacakra tradition. It contains a year 403, which I believe is derived from Muslim sources. If this is the case it should be calculated in the Hijra era, and would correspond to 1012-1013 A.D. Another interpretation correlates it to the beginning of the newer Tibetan chronology, i.e., 1027 A.D. In either case it proves that the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā were composed sometime around the beginning of the 11th century (see Newman 1987:100 [n.24]). Śrī Kālacakra I.28-94 and

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the Vimalaprabhā's commentary thereon are not translated in this dissertation.

The tenth brief account comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.95-149, dealing with svarodaya and machines. The section on svarodaya Śrī Kālacakra I.95-127 is not studied in this dissertation. Śrī Kālacakra I.128-149 describes various machines, most of which are siege machines and other types of weapons. This portion of the text is much like a do-it-yourself manual missing three-quarters of the instructions.

The Vimalaprabhā does not comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.150-170. Puṇḍarīka merely says that it is "easily understandable," which is a little joke he uses throughout the commentary whenever he leaves a particularly interesting and difficult part of the tantra unexplained. To interpret these often highly ambiguous verses of the Śrī Kālacakra, I relied on the annotations of Bu ston, the commentary of mKhas grub, and an anonymous Indian pañjikā, the Padminī. I found the Indian text to be the least reliable of the three. Despite the fact it is attributed to *Kālacakrapāda the Elder in the Derge Tanjur (#1350), I have little doubt that it was written by someone having a less than superlative knowledge of the Kālacakra, and certainly not by the founder of the system.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.150-151 describes the location of Sambhala on the earth's surface. Śrī Kālacakra I.152 describes Cakrī, the cakravartin king who will destroy the barbarians at the end of the age. Śrī Kālacakra I.153 lists the incarnations of Viṣṇu, the significance of which depends on which commentator one follows. Śrī Kālacakra I.154 lists the barbarian teachers, i.e., the prophets of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition. I have analyzed the contents of this verse in some detail. Śrī Kālacakra I.155 portrays the customs of the barbarians. Śrī Kālacakra I.156 describes the incarnations of the Gnosis Body. Śrī Kālacakra I.157 returns to the topic of Sambhala and its dynasty. Śrī Kālacakra I.158-159 introduces Raudra Cakrī, the last of the Kalkīs, who will annihilate the barbarians. Śrī Kālacakra I.160-163 depicts the Kālacakra Armageddon. Śrī Kālacakra I.164-169 describes what will follow the apocalypse. In particular, it discusses the conditions of human life, the fate of the dynasty of Sambhala, and human lifespan. These all gradually degenerate during the subsequent ages, and the entire process repeats itself. Śrī Kālacakra I.170, the end of the first chapter of the tantra, recapitulates the subject matter of the chapter and forms a bridge to the next.

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It is impossible in a brief précis to do justice to the vast amount of material presented in the Part II of this dissertation. Virtually every page raises questions and issues that require extensive treatment to be fully understandable. Many subjects that are merely introduced in the portions of the text translated here are explained at much greater length later on in the text. Nevertheless, I hope that my translation makes the Kālacakra system more accessible to interested scholars, and that it helps to open the way to a thorough study of this fascinating Vajrayāna tradition.

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Chapter 9: Previous Study of the Kālacakra

Western scholars first became interested in the Kālacakra more than a hundred and fifty years ago, and in the last few decades in particular they have devoted considerable effort to studying various aspects of this Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition. In this chapter we will provide a roughly chronological, bibliographical survey of previous research on the Kālacakra. The following survey is primarily limited to works that deal solely or mainly with the Kālacakra. The Kālacakra has often been incidentally referred to in works discussing the Vajrayāna or Buddhism in general, but with few exceptions such references derive from the studies examined below.

Alexander Csoma de Körös

The Kālacakra was first brought to the attention of western scholars by the founder of Tibetology - Alexander Csoma de Körös - in his brief "Note on the Origin of the Kāla-Chakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems," published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Csoma de Körös 1833; 1911). Csoma de Körös refers to the traditional homeland of the Kālacakra, Sambhala, which he locates "between about 45° and 50° north latitude, beyond the Sita or Jaxartes, where the increase of the days from the vernal equinox till the summer solstice amounted to 12

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Indian hours, or 4 hours, 48 minutes, European reckoning" (Csoma de Körös 1833:57; 1911:21).[1] He also asserts that the system was introduced into India during the last half of the 10th century, and mentions the works of Bu ston, mKhas grub, and Padma dkar po. The main body of Csoma de Körös's article, however, is a transcription and translation of a passage from Padma dkar po's 'Brug pa'i chos 'byung dealing with Cilu's introduction of the Kālacakra at Nālandā. This includes the renowned Kālacakra manifesto found at Vimalaprabhā I.6.2.

Considering when it was written, Csoma de Körös's short "Note" is a remarkable piece of work. Although it contains a few errors and unwarranted assertions, it is basically sound. It is a tribute to Csoma de Körös's scholarship that his note remained the sum total of western knowledge about the Kālacakra for the better part of a century, and that it continues to be referred to and quoted today.

In the appendix to his A Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English Csoma de Körös edited and translated

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[1] Csoma de Körös does not state his source for his calculation of Sambhala's latitude, but it must ultimately derive from an interpretation of Śrī Kālacakra I.54 and Vimalaprabhā I.9.54. For more on this see Petri (1966:84-87). The Śītā River is probably the Tarim in Eastern Turkistan, not the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) in Western Turkistan (Newman 1985:83-84 [n. 4]).

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the chronological table (re'u mig) from the Baiḍūrya dkar po of sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (Csoma de Körös 1834:181-198). Among other things, the table presents Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's version of the dates of: the Buddha's teaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka, Sucandra's redaction of the Kālacakra mūlatantra, Sucandra's nirvana, the successions of Kalkī Yaśas and Kalkī Samudravijaya, the beginning of the Kālacakra astronomical era, the origin of the barbarians, the introduction of the Kālacakra into India and into Tibet, and the succession of Kalkī Hari.[2] In his notes to the chronological table Csoma de Körös identifies the site of Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka with Cuttack in Orissa, and reconstructs the Sanskrit of "Rigs ldan Grags pa" as "Kulika Kīrti" (Csoma de Körös 1834:192-193): these mistakes have been repeated in scholarly writings down to quite recent times.

Hara Prasad Shāstri

Although Hara Prasad Shāstri did not write anything of note on the Kālacakra, his discovery and notices of important Kālacakra manuscripts deserve special mention. At the end of his "Notes on Palm-leaf MSS. in the Library

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[2] Note: Csoma de Körös erred with regards to the correlation of the Tibetan era and the Christian era; the A.D. dates in his table must all be increased by two years.

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of His Excellency the Mahārāja of Nepāl" (Shāstri 1897) Shāstri transcribes and discusses the colophon of an invaluable illustrated manuscript of the Vimalaprabhā. Among the many unique features of this manuscript is the fact that its copying is dated 1818 in a parinirvāṇa era. (Shāstri mistakenly says this refers to the actual composition of the text.) The era involved is almost certainly that of the Sinhalese, as Shāstri conjectures, and the date of the manuscript is ca. 1274 A.D. The colophon informs us that the manuscript was copied at the Dharmadhātu vihāra in Nepal by two Bengalis, Tathāgatavara and Puṇḍra. Shāstri's final lines on this manuscript are noteworthy: "There are numerous illustrations in this work representing Buddha as Upāya, as male, and Dharma, otherwise prajñā, as female. The Kāmakalā is represented as producing the Saṃgha represented by the Bodhisattvas. The MS. and the illustrations are in excellent preservation" (Shastri 1897:316).

The value of this manuscript, for both its text and its illustrations, requires no comment. In the winter of 1985 I inquired after and searched for this manuscript at the National Archives, the Kaiser Library, and the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project card catalogue in Kathmandu, without success. However, the Kaiser Library's "MSS. Catalogue" p. 25 has the following entry: "MS. #443

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Kālacakratantraṭīkā-vimalaprabhā palm, Newari,: prophessar ṭuci kāhāṃ gaeko." This manuscript is missing from the Kaiser Library's collection. Similarly, at the National Archives I was told by the authorities that Giuseppe Tucci had borrowed yet another manuscript of the Vimalaprabhā along with a number of other important manuscripts, but they had not been returned. It is clear that at one time Tucci was working on, or at least had planned, an edition of the Vimalaprabhā (GOS 1933:9; Tucci 1940:62 [n. 73]). We can only hope that the Vimalaprabhā manuscripts Tucci collected are in the safekeeping of his heirs, and that they will eventually become available to scholars working on the Kālacakra.

In his A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection Under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Shāstri 1917) Shāstri describes a number of important Kālacakra manuscripts. These consist of two manuscripts of the Vimalaprabhā (our MSS N & B) (Shāstri 1917:73-82), and the unique manuscripts of Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda's Sekoddeśaṭippanī (Shāstri 1917:151-152) and Abhayākaragupta's Kālacakrāvatāra (Shāstri 1917:161-162). Shāstri's descriptions include transcriptions of the colophons and extracts from the texts.

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Albert Grünwedel[3]

Towards the end of the 19th century Albert Grünwedel became interested in the Kālacakra. In his Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (cf. Grünwedel 1900:44-45, 60) and later works he makes passing references to the system, but insofar as they are reliable they add little to the information already presented by Csoma de Körös.

Grünwedel's major contribution to the study of the Kālacakra is his "Der Weg nach Śambhala" (Grünwedel 1915). This work consists of an edition and translation of the Panchen Lama bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's Shambha la'i lam yig; it has now been largely superceded by Bernbaum's study of the Kalāpāvatāra (Bernbaum 1986; see below).

In Die Teufel des Avesta (Grünwedel 1924) Grünwedel ranges far and wide, and in the process he transcribes, translates, and studies a number of verses from the Śrī Kālacakra.[4] His translations and explanations of these verses are utterly independent of the explanations

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[3] For a biography of Grünwedel, a survey of his work, and a comprehensive bibliography, see Schubert (1936). Grünwedel's study of the Kālacakra is discussed at Schubert (1936:133, 134, 135, 137).

[4] For a list of these verses and the locations of their treatments in Die Teufel des Avesta see Schubert (1953:436, n. 59). (I only have available pages 31-46 of the second volume of this rare book, where Grünwedel studies Śrī Kālacakra I.10-25.)

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contained in the Vimalaprabhā and the rest of the Kālacakra literature; they seem to be a mixture of fantasy and free-association.

Grünwedel also produced a critical edition and study of the Śrī Kālacakra, intended for the Bibliotheca Buddhica, but it was never published. The work consisted (consists?) of an edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts, a German analysis, and Sanskrit and Tibetan indices. (A detailed description of the manuscript of this work is given by Schubert [1953:434-437, n. 59].) It is unfortunate that the text editions were not made available to scholars, but if his treatment of the verses of the Śrī Kālacakra in Die Teufel des Avesta is any indication, it is better that the translations and analysis were not published.

George N. Roerich

George N. Roerich (also known as J.N. Rerikh, George Nicholas de Roerich, Georges de Roerich) made two major contributions to the study of the history of the Kālacakra. The first of these, his "Studies in the Kālacakra I" (Roerich 1932), was to be only the first of a series of studies in which he intended "to translate certain Tibetan historical texts on the Kālacakra doctrine and the Realm of Çambhala, and thus prepare the way for a

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translation and an exhaustive commentary of the Kālacakramūlatantra, and the other texts included in the Känjür and Tänjür" (Roerich 1932:12). Unfortunately, Roerich's plan was not carried out, and the first of his "Studies" was also the last.

The "Studies" begins with a brief discussion of the importance of the Kālacakra for the history of Buddhism in Tibet and Central Asia, and continues with a list of some of the major Tibetan chos 'byung and other works on Kālacakra by Bu ston, mKhas grub, 'Gos gZhon nu dpal, Padma dkar po, Tāranātha, Panchen bLo bzang chos kyi rgyal mthsan, sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, Sum pa mkhan po, and kLong rdol bla ma. Roerich then mentions the guidebooks (lam yig) to Sambhala, referring to the Kalāpāvatāra, Panchen bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's Shambha la'i lam yig, Laufer's translation of an anonymous lam yig (since identified as Man lungs Guru's), and other works related to Sambhala. He also notes the curious episode of the Jesuit missionaries Stephen Cacella and John Cabral, who set out for "Xembala" in 1627. Although Cabral never reached Sambhala, he wins the palm for being the first Occidental to correctly identify its location, for he says: "Xembala is in my opinion not Cathay but what in our maps is called Great Tartarea" (Roerich 1932:16). Roerich next refers to the Tibetan traditions regarding

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the first teaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka, and the problem of whether or not Western religions (specifically Zervanism and Manichaeism) had any influence on the system. The second half of Roerich's "Studies" is a valuable translation of mKhas grub's version of the history of the Kālacakra in India.[5] Roerich's translation is excellent - it is a testimony to his fine knowledge of Tibetan.

It is unfortunate that the journal in which Roerich's "Studies in the Kālacakra I" was published, the Journal of the 'Urusvati' Himalayan Research Institute of the Roerich Museum, received such limited circulation. The "Studies" reviews all of the previous western research on the Kālacakra, and clearly indicates the richness of the Tibetan literature on the subject. If the information contained in this article had been more widely known it might have precluded some of the baseless speculation that characterizes all too much of subsequent Western writings on the Kalacakra.

Roerich's second contribution to the study of the history of the Kālacakra is the 10th chapter of the Blue

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[5] Unbeknownst to Roerich, mKhas grub merely reproduces (almost verbatim) the earlier account of Bu ston. I have translated Bu ston's version in Newman (1985:66-71), which is superceded by the rendering in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

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Annals (Roerich 1949:753-838), his monumental translation of the Deb ther sngon po of 'Gos gZhon nu dpal. 'Gos lo tsa ba appears to have compiled all the accounts of the history of the Kālacakra that were available to him. Many of the sources he used are not known to be extant: in particular, he gives lengthy excerpts from, or summaries of, the rGyud la 'jug pa'i man ngag rin po che za ma tog kha 'byed pa of gLan bang so ba Chos kyi dbang phyug, and the Dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus don of bSod nams 'od zer (Roerich 1949:756-762). Both of these works predate Bu ston's Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig, and thus they are extremely important for untangling the early history of the Kālacakra. In brief, the 10th chapter of the Deb ther sngon po is a gold mine of information on the history of the Kālacakra, and Roerich's excellent translation (done with the assistance of dGe 'dun chos 'phel) is a valuable aid to the study of the Tibetan text.

Mario E. Carelli

In 1941 Mario E. Carelli's edition of Nāro's Paramārthasaṃgraha-nāma-sekoddeśaṭīkā appeared in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (Carelli 1941a).[6] This made

[6] Carelli, following his manuscript, calls the text simply Sekoddesaṭīkā. I give the title as it appears at the head of the Tibetan translation, in order to more easily distinguish it from *Kālacakrapāda's Sekoddesaṭīkā.

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available a major work on the Kālacakra in its original language, a work by one of the most important figures in the history of the Vajrayāna.[7] Carelli's edition is essentially an unrevised transcription of a single, almost complete, palm leaf manuscript written in an old Newari script.[8] Although he refers to the Tibetan translation a few times, a comparison of the printed text with the Tibetan translation quickly shows that Carelli was correct in his supposition that "this work may have to be subjected to a thorough revision before its second edition" (Carelli 1941a:1). In fact, many of the readings in the printed text can be easily corrected in light of the Tibetan version; others are more problematic and require considerable knowledge of the subject matter of

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[7] Hoffmann (1951) and Nihom (1984) provide valuable notes on some of the many quotations in Nāro's ṭīkā, but some of their assertions about the relation of the text to other texts in the Kālacakra corpus are incorrect; see Newman (1987).

[8] For a brief description of the manuscript, and the story behind Carelli's editing of the text, see Carelli (1941a:1, 75; 1941b:333). The manuscript Carelli used seems to be missing from the National Archives in Kathmandu (formerly the Bir Library): in December 1985 I was unable to locate it in the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project's card catalogue, and it is not listed in the Bṛhatsūcīpatram. Another manuscript (paper; Newari script; 90 folios) is preserved in the Archives: MS #5-116; NGMPP reel #B 94/9. I have not yet examined it thoroughly, but it seems to be a poorly preserved copy of the manuscript Carelli used - it is missing the same portion of the text Carelli's manuscript lacked (cf. Paramārthasaṃgraha 21).

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the text before they can be decided with any certainty. A more serious problem is that it is unclear whether or not Carelli realized that the Paramārthasaṃgraha is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa. He seems to refer to this fact (Carelli 1941a:5; 1941b:333), but it is odd that he would have published the commentary without providing an edition of the relatively brief text it comments on.[9] Without taking into account the root text, scholars have referred to Carelli's edition in order to provide a textual basis for their interpretations of particular points of Vajrayāna doctrine,[10] but no one has yet attempted a detailed study of the entire text.

Carelli provides an introduction to the text (Carelli 1941a:5-35), a brief précis of which is published separately (Carelli 1941b). The introduction begins with general remarks on Vajrayāna thought, with an emphasis on the idea of seka, or abhiṣeka. Carelli touches on the traditional account of the origin of the Vajrayāna

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[9] The English subtitle to Carelli's edition is "Being a commentary of the Sekoddeśa Section of the Kālacakra Tantra." I wonder if Carelli thought Nāro's text was a commentary on the abhiṣekapaṭala of the Śrī Kālacakra? Scholarly confusion about the relation of Nāro's ṭīkā to other texts in the Kālacakra corpus has persisted up to the present - see: Hoffmann (1951:144), Nihom (1984), Newman (1987).

[10] For recent utilization of Carelli's edition see: Kvaerne (1975), Snellgrove (1987:205, 224 [n. 171], 250 [n. 217], 262-264, 285).

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presented in the Paramārthasaṃgraha, and then discourses at some length on the four vajrayogas, the four abhisaṃbodhis, the ten nimittas, and the meaning of the names Ādibuddha and Kālacakra. The second half of the introduction is devoted to a description of the Kālacakra initiation rites, including the rakṣā, the consecration of the vases, the consecration of the disciple, the homage to the deities, the puja, the pledges and vows, the krodhāveśa, the entrance into the mandala, and the eleven initiations.

Carelli's introduction is a bold and oftentimes successful assay of a still poorly known subject. Insofar as he understands and presents the views of Nāro, it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Kālacakra initiations and yoga. Unfortunately Carelli sometimes takes off on flights of mystico-poetic fancy, and his essay is all too often marred by statements like, "All is truth, all is God...," and "Sucandra's guru was Sambuddha himself and everybody's guru is looked at as a personal manifestation of God" (Carelli 1941a:24). The reader must have some background in the subject to be able to separate the Buddhism from Carelli's rather idiosyncratic views. Nonetheless, Carelli's enthusiasm and appreciation for the material he deals with is a refreshing change from most of the previous writings on the Vajrayāna, and students of

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the Kālacakra shall be forever grateful for his edition of Nāro's ṭīkā, a work produced under difficult conditions.

It seems that Carelli, together with Giuseppe Tucci, was engaged in an edition of the Vimalaprabhā. Tucci writes: "[The Vimalaprabhā] is the commentary upon the Kālacakra; it is being edited by my pupil Doctor M. Carelli and myself in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series" (Tucci 1940:62 [n. 73]). Although Tucci had already announced his edition as a work in progress in 1933 (GOS 1933:9), it never appeared.

Helmut H.R. Hoffmann

Helmut H.R. Hoffmann is in many ways the leading western scholar of the Kālacakra. Besides his own studies of the system, he has inspired the research of his students Biswanath Banerjee, Winfried Petri, and Güntur Grönbold, whose works will be considered later. My own interest in the Kālacakra was sparked in part by reading Hoffmann's The Religions of Tibet. Hoffmann's publications on the Kālacakra span the better part of three decades, and we will discuss them in chronological order.[11] I would like to stress that my disagreement

[11] I am grateful to Professor Hoffmann for sending me an offprint of his "Curriculum Vitae" (Hoffmann 1977b) marked to indicate his publications concerning the Kālacakra. Three publications not listed in the

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with, and criticism of, some of Hoffmann's interpretations and theories should not be taken as lack of respect for his fine scholarship.

Hoffmann's first work on the Kālacakra, "Litararhistorische Bemerkungen zur Sekoddeśaṭīkā des Naḍapāda" (Hoffmann 1951) is a review article on Carelli's edition of the Paramārthasaṃgraha. Hoffmann begins by noting the significance of this particular text, as well as the importance of the Kālacakra as a whole. Like Csoma de Körös and Grünwedel, he says the Kālacakra came into effect in India during the second half of the 10th century. Hoffmann notes two especially significant problems the Kālacakra presents to the historian of religions: 1) the value of the Kālacakra as a last stage in the accommodation between declining Vajrayāna Buddhism and the religious tendencies of contemporary Hinduism, especially those of Vaiṣṇavism; and 2) the question of the extent of West Asian religions's influence on the Kālacakra and all of later Buddhism. Hoffmann notes that the latter question is related to the problem of the location of Sambhala. Although he does not address these issues in the present article, they form the basic themes for much of his later writing on the Kālacakra.

"Curriculum Vitae" are Hoffmann (1960), (1968), and (1977a), cited in the bibliography to this dissertation.

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Hoffmann continues with reference to various dates proposed for the nirvana of Nāro - 1027, 1039, and 1053- without offering an opinion as to which one might be correct. He then notes the quotations of named authors appearing in the Paramārthasaṃgraha, those of Nāgārjuna, Kambalāmbara, Saraha, Āryadeva, Indrabhūti, Candragomin, Vajragarbha, Puṇḍarīka, and Bhusuku. The next section of the "Bemerkungen" is a discussion of the identities and dates of these authors. (Most of these authors are mahāsiddhas, and even today they remain obscure and controversial figures.) Hoffmann then identifies some of the quotations from tantras appearing in Nāro's ṭīkā, in particular those from the Kālacakra corpus. Here Hoffmann erroneously identifies certain verses in sragdharā as coming from the Sekoddeśa when in fact they are drawn from the Śrī Kālacakra.[12] He also addresses the tantra classification system presented in Sekoddeśa 3-5. Although this has been studied by Carelli (1941a:5), Hoffmann (1951:144-145), Shendge (1966:38), and Nihom (1984), its exact significance remains obscure, and further research is needed. Hoffmann then considers the source of some other sragdharā verses quoted by Nāro, and

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[12] This is pointed out by M. Nihom (1984:19-20). However, I am afraid that Nihom's own assertions about the Kālacakra corpus are for the most part a mass of confused misinformation; cf. Newman (1987).

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concludes that "für das Kālacakra-System die Identität von Uttara- und Laghutantra ergibt" (Hoffmann 1951:145). This is incorrect: as pointed out by M. Nihom (1984:20-21), the Śrī Kālacakra (the Kālacakra laghutantra) and the Tantrahṛdaya (the Kālacakra tantrottara) are different texts; the latter is an addendum to the former. Hoffmann correctly notes the important citations from the Kālacakra mūlatantra appearing in the Paramārthasaṃgraha, and discusses the references to Dhānyakaṭaka as the homeland of the Vajrayāna. In a note Hoffmann says: "Eine Ausgabe des Uttaratantra [sic., read: laghutantra] (Sanskrit und Tibetisch) bereite ich vor" (Hoffmann 1951:146, [n. 1]). Since reiterated (Hoffmann 1956:119 [n. 143]; 1961:124 [n. 1]; 1977a), Hoffmann's edition of the Śrī Kālacakra has not yet appeared. The "Bemerkungen" ends with a mention of the quotations from the Vimalaprabhā, the Paramārthasevā, and the Nāmasaṃgīti appearing in the Paramārthasaṃgraha.

In Die Religionen Tibets (Hoffmann 1956; English translation: Hoffmann 1961) Hoffmann devotes several pages to a synoptic history of the Kālacakra (Hoffmann 1956:118-125; 1961:123-130; et passim). Hoffmann, following Tucci, perceives parallels between various Manichaean and Buddhist ideas, and thinks there may be some Manichaean influence on the Kālacakra (Hoffmann 1956:41; 1961:52).

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This is a theory that Hoffmann repeats frequently throughout his later publications, and occasionally one gets the impression this in not a theory, but a fact (cf. Hoffmann 1960:98-99; 1967a:406; 1969:58-59, 67; 1975:142). (I disagree with Hoffmann on this point for reasons I will elaborate below.) Hoffmann reports that Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor says that among Atiśa's disciples was "Pi-to-pa, welcher zur Zeit des Königs Mahīpāla von Bengalen das Kālacakrasystem in Indien gelehrt haben soll" (Hoffmann 1956:115, cf. 122, 124; cf. 1961:120, 126-128). As stated in Chapter 7 of this Introduction, I believe the Piṇḍo who introduced the Kālacakra was Atiśa's guru, not his disciple. Following Grünwedel, Hoffmann says: "Nach der chronologischen Tabelle Re'u-mig hätte [Atiśa] sein Werk über die Chronologie im Jahre 1051 in Zentraltibet geschreiben" (Hoffmann 1951:117; 1961:122; also 1975:142). As noted above in Chapter 6, this is based on a misunderstanding of the term bstan rtsis, which means "a calculation of the duration of the doctrine," not "a work on chronology."

Hoffmann begins his actual treatment of the Kālacakra in Die Religionen Tibets with the statement: "Kālacakra bedeutet wörtlich 'das Rad der Zeit' und dürfte, wie schon B. Laufer [Laufer 1907:403] festellte, ursprünglich den oben erwähnten Zyklus der zwölf Tiere bezeichnet haben"

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(Hoffmann 1956:118; cf. 1961:123; also 1975:142). This is incorrect: although the Indian Bṛhaspati sexagenary cycle does play a role in Kālacakra chronology, there is no mention of the Sino-Central Asian duodenary animal cycle in the Indian Kālacakra literature.

Hoffmann says:

> Religionsgeschichtlich gesehen, stellt das Kālacakra den letzten Versuch des in Indien unaufhaltsam untergehenden und entartenden Buddhismus dar, durch reichliche Anleihen aus den mächtig aufstrebenden Systemen des Shivaismus und besonders Vishnuismus, anderseits aber auch durch Aneignung fremder, westlicher Lehren seine Anziehungskraft für Religiose und Laien wieder zu verstärken. Bis zu einem gewissen Grade ist ihm das auch durchaus gelungen, doch barg diese Entwicklung gleichzeitig den Keim des Todes in sich, da der Buddhismus so viel von seinem eigensten Wesen aufgegeben und sich den andern zeitgenössischen Religionen derart angeglichen hatte, dass seiner Sonderexistenz keine Notwendigkeit mehr innewohnte und schliesslich nur der Schock des mohammedanischen Einbruchs im östlichen Indien (1193) genügte, um ihn zu vernichten (Hoffmann 1956:118-119; cf. 1961:123-124).

Hoffmann repeats this theory even more forcefully in a later publication:

> Dieser ganze späte Buddhismus [i.e., the Vajrayāna] war, wie wir gesehen haben, im Grunde nur noch eine Variente des kontemporären Hinduismus, und nur so its es zu verstehen, dass er nach Wegfall der Protektion durch die Pāla-Könige und das mohammedanische Massaker von 1197 aus seinem Ursprungslande ziemlich schnell verschwand (Hoffmann 1967a:406).

The idea that the Vajrayāna was "nur noch eine Variente des kontemporären Hinduismus" is no longer generally accepted. Of course late Indian Buddhism, in

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common with earlier phases of Indian Buddhism, was an Indian religion. Like all Indian religions Buddhism subscribed to a common Indian Weltanschauung, but it was always quite distinct from other traditions in the minds of its adherents and its opponents. It is true that the Kālacakra utilizes elements from heterodox religions in an attempt to win converts to Buddhism, but this is a mark of strength, not weakness. Religious syncretism occurs when a religion is aggressively attempting to co-opt the adherents of another tradition, not when the religion is on the defensive. The theory that the Kālacakra abandoned so much that was essential to Buddhism that it 'contained the seeds of Buddhism's death' is totally unwarranted. Although the Kālacakra sometimes interprets earlier Buddhist doctrines in an innovative fashion, it propounds the Four Noble Truths, the twelve-factor dependent origination, renunciation of samsara, bodhicitta, the perfections, Madhyamaka philosophy, and so forth. The Vimalaprabhā, concurring with the mainstream view of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, asserts that one must master all three vehicles in order to master the Vajrayāna. In brief, the cause of the disappearance of Buddhism from India must be sought elsewhere.

Hoffmann continues his account of the Kālacakra in Die Religionen Tibets with a discussion of the Buddha's

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teaching of the Kālacakra to Sucandra at Dhānyakaṭaka, and of Sambhala. He thinks it is likely that Sambhala was originally an actual place that later faded into myth, and that it is probable that the Kālacakra was introduced into India from a foreign land. I agree with the first theory, with some qualifications, but not with the second. Although the Kālacakra tradition claims that the system was reintroduced into India from Sambhala, I believe it originated in India. The simplest (and most telling) argument in support of my theory is that the Kālacakra was quite unintelligible to anyone but highly educated Indians. Hoffmann also discusses the Kalkīs of Sambhala. In the German text he refers to them as "Kulika" (Hoffmann 1956:121), but the English translation first has "'Kulika' or 'Kalki'" and then proceeds to use the form "Kulika" (Hoffmann 1964:125). This erroneous reconstruction originated with Csoma de Körös, as mentioned above. It would appear that in the interval between the publication of the Die Religionen Tibets and its English translation Hoffmann realized that the Sanskrit original of rigs ldan here is not kulika, but kalkin. (In his later publications he uses the not quite correct form "Kalki" exclusively.) Hoffmann, following Grünwedel, thinks the story of the conversion of Sūryaratha and the sages in Vimalaprabhā I.3 is "offenbar ein Dokument der

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Auseinandersetzung mit einem fremden Religionssystem" (Hoffmann 1956:121; cf. 1964:126). I disagree with this: the sages are clearly specified as brahman sages; I read the story as a parable intended for an Indian brahman audience. Hoffmann refers to Kalkī Mañjuśrī Yaśas as "Kulika Manjuśrīkīrti" here; as pointed out above, Csoma de Körös is the ultimate source for these mistaken reconstructions.

Hoffmann says:

> Über die Tatsache der Einführung des Kālacakra von Shambhala nach Indien 60 Jahre vor der Rezeption in Tibet sind die Historiker sich einig. Da das Jahr 1026 als der Zeitpunkt der offiziellen Annahme in Tibet gilt, kämen wir auf das Jahr 966 als Datum der Einführung in Indien (Hoffmann 1956:121; cf. 1964:126).[13]

Hoffmann has repeated this so many times that it has come to be regarded as a fact (Hoffmann 1960:96; 1964:125; 1967b:40; 1969:53; 1973:136; 1975:144). Actually, the Tibetan historians are anything but unanimous on this point. Bu ston seems to imply that the Kālacakra was not introduced into India until 1027 (cf. Newman 1987:100 [n. 24]). 'Gos gZhon nu dpal reports that "most of the later scholars" held that the Kālacakra was first introduced into India in 1027 ('das lo'i thog ma'i rab byung 'jug pa), but his own view is that it was introduced long

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[13] Hoffmann also gives this date as 967 (Hoffmann 1960:96; 1969:53; 1973:136), and 965 (Hoffmann 1964:125).

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before that time (Deb ther sngon po 885-887, cf. 898-899; Roerich 1949:753-7555, cf. 765-766). mKhas grub seeks to obscure the issue altogether, and says it is impossible determine the date of the introduction of the Kālacakra into India with any degree of precision. 966 A.D. as the date of the introduction of the Kālacakra into India goes back to Csoma de Körös's study of sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's re'u mig (Csoma de Körös 1834:183). I have not investigated Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's reasons for this assertion, but it is contradicted by the fact that the astronomical era given at Śrī Kālacakra I.27 corresponds to a date falling in the first two decades of the 11th century (Newman 1987:100 [n.24]). In brief, I have seen no cogent evidence to support the theory that the Kālacakra was introduced into India during the middle of the 10th century, and believe this actually occurred early in the 11th century.

Hoffmann next discusses the problem of which master introduced the Kalacakra into India. He rejects "Pi-to-pa," thinks "Tsi-lu-pa" and *Kālacakrapāda the Elder are probably two names for the same individual, and that this master introduced the Kālacakra (cf. Hoffmann 1975:144). Hoffmann gives a paraphrase of Padma dkar po's version of the story of Cilu's introduction of the Kālacakra, portions of which were previously translated by Csoma de

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Körös. Like Csoma de Körös and others, here and elsewhere Hoffmann does not realize that mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas (i.e., Paramādibuddha) and mTshan yang dag par brjod pa (Nāmasaṃgīti) in the 'Kālacakra manifesto' are the titles of texts (Hoffmann 1956:123; 1961:128; 1964:129-130; 1967:40).

Hoffmann continues his account with a description of the introduction of the Kālacakra into Tibet. He refers to the translation work of Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer, and the Kālacakra traditions established by 'Bro Shes rab grags and Rwa Chos rab. His sources for this section appear to be Padma dkar po and Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor. Hoffmann asserts that Gyi jo's teacher Bhadrabodhi was a disciple of Cilu, and that 'Bro Shes rab grags's teacher Somanātha was a disciple of Nāro. These theories are in fact problematic. Hoffmann also says that Rwa Chos rab studied in Kashmir under the Kashmiri master Samantaśrī. Samantaśrī was in actually a Newari, and Chos rab first studied with him in Nepal. Hoffmann concludes his treatment of the Kālacakra in Die Religionen Tibets with a mention of Tibetan Kālacakra traditions of the 12th-15th centuries.

Hoffmann's essay on the Kālacakra in Die Religionen Tibets presents some new information - mostly from the historical works of Padma dkar po and Sum pa mkhan po-

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and reformulates information already presented by western scholars. Unfortunately Hoffmann perpetuates some of the errors and unwarranted assertions of previous scholars, and adds a few of his own. However, these defects are more than counterbalanced by the fact that Hoffmann has written here the first connected account of the entire history of the Kālacakra, and that it is for the most part sound. I have devoted a detailed critique to this work because the material and ideas put forth in it are repeated in Hoffmann's later publications, and because it has been widely read and quoted by other scholars.

"Manichaeism and Islam in the Buddhist Kālacakra System" (Hoffmann 1960) is a précis of the paper that Hoffmann later developed into "Kalacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra" (Hoffmann 1969). Since we will discuss the latter essay below, there is no need to consider the précis in any detail. However, the abstract presents the clearest articulation of Hoffmann's theory of the origin of the Kālacakra, and it is worthwhile to examine this here.

Hoffmann says:

> According to its own literature the system, called 'Wheel of Time,' has been brought 967 A.D. [sic] to India from the country of Śambhala... The Muslims are mentioned in the Kālacakra Tantra very often be [sic] the worst enemies of Buddhism. Especially the text depicts a terrible eschatological battle which will end with the definite Buddhist victory over the

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> Muslim gangs. This conception makes clear, that the Kālacakra really did not originate in India herself. For the year 967 A.D. precedes the first efficacious Muslim intrusions into India proper, which took place under the auspices of Mahmud of Ghazni (about 1000 A.D.). But Buddhist Central Asia had been pressed by the followers of Mohammed already for three centuries (Hoffmann 1960:96-97).

As noted above, Hoffmann seems to accept the date 967 A.D. - which only appears in certain relatively late Tibetan sources - as a fact. However, this date is not supported by the earlier Tibetan sources, and it is contradicted by internal evidence found in the primary Sanskrit Kālacakra texts themselves. From the latter evidence, and from the few facts that can be gleaned from the guru lineage accounts, it seems more likely that the Kalacakra originated somewhat later, i.e., early in the 11th century. By this time, as Hoffmann rightly notes, Islam had definitely made itself known in North India.

This leads us to examine the geographical origin of the Kālacakra. Hoffmann appears to follow the unanimous assertion of the Kālacakra tradition that the system was (re-)introduced into India from Sambhala, a land which in any case must be located in the general region of Turkistan. In my opinion, this generates insoluble problems. First, the early Kālacakra literature is written in Sanskrit, and there is no evidence to suggest that Sanskrit was used in Turkistan so late as the 11th

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century. Second, the Kālacakra presupposes the entire development of the anuttarayoga-type tantras, and there is no evidence to suggest that such tantras were known in Turkistan so early as the 11th century. Third, the Kālacakra literature assumes a very sophisticated knowledge of both Buddhist and heterodox Indian religious traditions, and natives of Turkistan could not have read it, much less written it, unless they had received an education that could only be had in India. All this convinces me that the Kālacakra was created by an Indian, in India, for an Indian audience. (The Vimalaprabhā was certainly written in India: Puṇḍarīka repeatedly writes "here in the land of the Aryans," and clearly defines "the land of the Aryans" as India.) This explanation is simpler than Hoffmann's theory: it is conceivable that an Indian could have had sufficient knowledge of Islam and things Central Asian to be able to produce the Kālacakra, but it stretches credulity to postulate that a Central Asian could have, or would have, developed an extremely complex soteriological system that was only intelligible to Indians.

Hoffmann's next publication to deal with the Kālacakra is his "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien" (Hoffmann 1964). The first half of this brief article presents general remarks on the

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historical development of Buddhism in India as a context for the discussion of the Kālacakra in the latter half. Here, as in his other publications, Hoffmann emphasizes the theory that Western religious ideas, particularly those emanating from Iran, played an important role in the development of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism. For example, like Tucci, Hoffmann believes: "Die Pentade von 5 Buddhas, die aus dem Urbuddha (Ādibuddha) dieser Systeme emaniert, dürfte manichäischen Ursprungs sein" (Hoffmann 1964:127; cf. Tucci 1934:346, 349-351). In lieu of any evidence to support it, this sort of speculation is pointless and misleading. The five tathāgatas of the Buddhist tantras are explicitly described as symbolizing the five gnoses, which are in turn transmutations of the five psycho-physical personality aggregates. The five aggregates, of course, pervade the entire course of Buddhist thought, and there is no need to invoke Manichaean influence to explain a doctrinal development that can be more easily understood as having occurred within Buddhism itself.

Hoffmann begins his discussion of the Kālacakra by stating that the tradition alleges that the system was imported into India from the northwest. Thus, he says, the Kālacakra probably does not have a genetic relationship with the old Indian time-god Kāla; rather, it

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is probably connected with the Zoroastrian time-god Zurvan, who also influenced Manichaeism. Hoffmann continues by noting the gloss on kālacakra given by Nāro in the Paramārthasaṃgraha (which in fact is drawn from the Vimalaprabhā), and gives a brief description of the Kālacakra mantric cosmogram, the daśākāravasī. He notes the complexity of the Kālacakra astronomy, and mentions his collaboration with Winfried Petri in the study of the system.

Next Hoffmann gives a brief synopsis of the history of the Kālacakra. Except for a somewhat more detailed account of the first teaching of the system at Dhānyakaṭaka, and some minor details, this section is simply a summary of the information presented in Die Religionen Tibets.

The concluding section of "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien" discusses the problem of Hindu and foreign influences on the Kālacakra. Hoffmann notes that this problem is related to the location of Sambhala, which unfortunately cannot be precisely determined from the latitudinal value given for it in the Śrī Kālacakra. He also mentions the list of heterodox teachers given at Śrī Kālacakra I.154,[14] which he says

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[14] Here and elsewhere Hoffmann erroneously designates this verse as "152."

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derives from Muslim and Manichaean sources. Hoffmann believes that the eschatological doctrines of the Kālacakra, specifically the war at the end of the age between Raudra Cakrī[15] and the barbarians, proves that the system is influenced by western religions. He says: "Im Kālacakra können wir überdies eine interessante Angleichung des entlehnten Gedankens einer Endzeit mit der echt indischen zyklischen Weltalterlehre festellen..." (Hoffmann 1964:131; cf. 1967c:372; 1975:143). Since time is cyclical in the common Indian notion, he reasons, the appearance of an Endzeit in the Kālacakra demonstrates that it is influenced by Iranian ideas. I disagree with Hoffmann on this point. Even if we assume that the idea of an apocalyptic war was imported into India (a theory that is plausible, but not proven), this occurred long before the origin of the Kālacakra. The Kālacakra eschatology is clearly an adaptation of the Epic and Puranic myth of Kalkī; there is no need to posit any direct Iranian influence.

Hoffmann ends "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien" with an announcement of his plan to

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[15] Here and elsewhere in his publications Hoffmann spells this name "Rudra Cakrin." The form raudra appears in the manuscripts and printed editions of the Sanskrit.

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produce a detailed study of the Kālacakra in collaboration with other scholars.

In a lengthy article entitled "Hinduismus und Buddhismus von Ashoka bis zur mohammedanischen Eroberung" Hoffmann devotes two pages to the Kālacakra (Hoffmann 1967a:405-406), but all of the information contained therein is repeated from his previous publications. The same is true of Hoffmann's brief treatment of the Kālacakra in his book Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus (Hoffmann 1967b:40-41 & passim); the only noteworthy exception is his mention that the second chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra contains an allegorical interpretation of the Kālacakra Armageddon.

In "Die Polaritätslehre des späten Buddhismus" (Hoffmann 1967c:372) Hoffmann briefly refers to the doctrine of Kalki(n) in the Puranas and in the Kālacakra. He announces a study which is to offer a new interpretation of the Puranic references to Kalkī, but this has not appeared.

Hoffmann writes: "Eine ausführlich dokumentierte Darstellung dieses Problems und des ganzen Komplexes der Initiation im späten Buddhismus soll in den Sitzungsberichten der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften unter dem Titel 'Initiationsriten im Kālacakra und im späten Buddhismus überhaupt' erscheinen"

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(Hoffmann 1967c:377 [n. 35]; cf. 1967b:43 [n. 17]). In 1968 Hoffmann published a one page abstract of a work entitled "Initiationsriten im späten Buddhismus" in the Sitzungsberichte (Hoffmann 1968), but his detailed study of the Kālacakra initiation rites did not appear.

"Kālacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra" (Hoffmann 1969) is perhaps the most important of Hoffmann's contributions to the study of the Kālacakra. The main body of this article is an edition and translation of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of Śrī Kālacakra I.153-155,[16] which describe the teachers and practices of the "barbarians" (i.e., Muslims). In the notes to my own translation of these verses I give a detailed critique of the relevant portions of Hoffmann's study, and I refer the reader to Part II of this dissertation. I would only repeat here that, although I disagree with certain aspects of Hoffmann's treatment of these verses, this article remains a brilliant and provocative scholarly tour de force.

"Buddha's Preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at the Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka" (Hoffmann 1973) is another valuable

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[16] Hoffmann numbers these verses "151-153." None of the manuscripts or printed editions support this. Some manuscripts and the earlier printed editions number these as 152-154, but I follow the numbering in Upadhyaya's edition.

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contribution to Kālacakra studies. In this article Hoffmann edits and translates the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of six verses quoted from the Paramādibuddha (the Kālacakra mūlatantra) that appear in the Paramārthasaṃgraha of Nāro. The subject of these verses is the Buddha's first teaching of the Kālacakra, and the Vajrayāna in general, at Dhānyakaṭaka. Hoffmann begins the article by noting the provenance and importance of these verses. He says they are difficult to edit because we have only one manuscript, and because they are "not only written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit but in a very corrupt barbarian Sanskrit of a semi-Indian region in the far north-west" (Hoffmann 1973:136). As I have argued elsewhere (Newman 1988), the early Kālacakra literature, including these verses, is not written in "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit" in any meaningful sense of the term, nor in "very corrupt barbarian Sanskrit," whatever that is. Also, Hoffmann has presented no cogent evidence to support his assertion that this text originated in "a semi-Indian region in the far north-west." There is certainly no justification for Hoffmann's practice of creating "Middle Indic" metri causa out of a correct Sanskrit form appearing in the MS (Hoffmann 1973:137 [n. 3, 7]); the verses of the Paramādibuddha often do not make metre.

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Hoffmann's edition and translation of the verses is good, but the following changes may be suggested:

(1) Tib. 5a read bem min instead of bems min; and translate as "not material" instead of Hoffmann's "not motionless."

(2) Tib. 6b read dgos pa'o instead of dges pa'o; and translate as "for the merit and gnosis of men" instead of Hoffmann's "for the men, the object of sacred knowledge."

Hoffmann notes that verse 6 refers to the word EVAṂ, which symbolizes the union of wisdom and method in Vajrayāna thought, and that the verses as a whole present an "official version" of the Buddha's teaching of the Vajrayāna. He equates this with the third turning of the Wheel of Dharma (dharmacakrapravartaṇa), but this is incorrect. The third turning consists of the Buddha's teaching of the Vijñānavāda doctrines (especially as they are presented in the Saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra), but it is not correlated with the Vajrayāna. The verses in fact relate the circumstances of the Buddha's enunciation of the two systems (naya; tshul) of the Mahāyāna: the perfection system (pāramitānaya; pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul), i.e., the Mahāyāna path taught in the sutras; and the mantra system (mantranaya; gsang sngags kyi tshul), i.e., the Mahāyāna path taught in the tantras, also called the Vajrayāna. Hoffmann also believes that the Vajrayāna

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represents a third vehicle distinct from the Mahāyāna; as pointed out in Chapter 3 of this introduction, this view is not supported by traditional sources.

The rest of "Buddha's Preaching" is devoted to a discussion of the location of the Dhānyakaṭaka stupa. As Hoffmann rightly notes:

> There cannot be the slightest doubt that according to our first śloka the preaching of the Kālacakra and the Mantrayāna in general took place at Śrīdhayakaṭaka near the delta of the Kistna in Āndhra. No special consideration concerning the location of that spot, namely the famous big Stūpa of Amarāvatī near the actual Dharaṇikoṭa in the Guntur district seems to be justified (Hoffmann 1973:138-139).

Yet Klaus Hahlweg (Hahlweg 1965) and André Bareau (Bareau 1967) wrote articles on Dhānyakaṭaka in which they locate the stupa in the delta of the Ganga, contrary to Hoffmann's statement in Die Religionen Tibets (Hoffmann 1956:119, 164), and also contradicting the determinations of other previous scholars (cf. Macdonald 1970:170 [n. 1]). As Hoffmann says, the theory of Hahlweg and Bareau is unfounded: there is no reason to doubt that the Indian Kālacakra sources refer to the stupa in Andhra.

Hoffmann concludes "Buddha's Preaching" by noting that the region around Dhānyakaṭaka was the home of "progressive schools" during the period of the early development of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and "therefore it is understandable that also the latest Buddhist system in

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India, the Kālacakra, was believed to have originated at that holy place" (Hoffmann 1973:140). A postscript says: "(The problem of Buddha's preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra will be resumed later by me and published as no. 2 of my 'Kālacakra Studies,' including copious additional Sanskrit and Tibetan material)" (Hoffmann 1973:140). This essay has not appeared.

In Tibet: A Handbook, Hoffmann devotes five pages to the Kālacakra (Hoffmann 1975:142-146). Excepting a few details, all of the information presented there is derived from his earlier publications, especially Die Religionen Tibets. A few points worth noting: Hoffmann says Abhayākaragupta composed the Kālacakrāvatāra about 1027 A.D. (Hoffmann 1975:142). This is virtually impossible. Abhayākaragupta flourished at the end of the 11th century, as demonstrated in Chapter 6 of this introduction. This error may explain in part Hoffmann's belief that the Kālacakra was introduced around 967 A.D., because the Kālacakrāvatāra uses an astronomical period that is sixty years in excess of that given at Śrī Kālacakra I.27a. In fact this only proves that the Kālacakrāvatāra itself was composed about sixty years after the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā, i.e., sometime in the latter half of the 11th century. Hoffmann says that the Kālacakra belongs to the class of "Mother Tantras." This is actually

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problematic: Tsong kha pa and most of his followers assert this, but they seem to be in the minority, most Tibetan scholars saying that the Kālacakra belongs to a third "nondual" (advaya; gnyis med) class among the anuttarayoga tantras, as previously noted by Hoffmann (1967b:22). Finally, Hoffmann asserts that Samantaśrī was a disciple of Nāro: all of the sources I have examined contradict this, and say Samantaśrī's main Kālacakra teacher was Mañjukīrti. At the end of his treatment of the Kālacakra in Tibet: A Handbook Hoffmann gives a useful bibliography of materials on the Kālacakra.

To my knowledge, Hoffmann's most recent publication related to the Kālacakra is a short prospectus of work in progress published in Buddhist Text Information: "Kālacakra Tantra: a comprehensive study initiated as 'Kālacakra Studies' and planned to culminate as 'Shambhala and the Buddhist Apocalypse,' leading to a definitive edition of the Kālacakra Tantra" (Hoffmann 1977a:12). The prospectus continues with a list of three Tibetan works to be included in the project. The results of this study have not appeared.

I have devoted so much space to Hoffmann's publications on the Kālacakra because they are all required reading for serious students of the subject. My disagreement with some of his interpretations and theories

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does not diminish my debt to his generally excellent work on the history and doctrine of the Kālacakra tradition. However, two criticisms cannot be avoided. First, Hoffmann's fixation on supposed Manichaean influence on the Kālacakra is unwarranted, and it seems to have distracted him from the more obvious Indian nature of the tantra. Second, Hoffmann's promises of comprehensive treatments of so many important aspects of the Kālacakra may have discouraged other scholars from studying the system. We can only hope that the studies he has announced over the last thirty years will eventually appear.

Biswanath Banerjee (Biswanath Bandyopadhyaya)

Biswanath Banerjee's first contribution to the study of the Kālacakra is his "A Note on the Kālacakratantra and its Commentary" (Bandyopadhyaya 1952). This article begins with general comments on the Kālacakra taken from the works of previous scholars. Next comes a description of the Cambridge University palm leaf manuscript of the Śrī Kālacakra (following Cecil Bendall's catalogue of the Cambridge collection), including the copyist's colophon, a list of the chapters, and a transcription and brief discussion of the first two verses.

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Banerjee continues with a description of the two manuscripts of the Vimalaprabhā held at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This information is taken from Hara Prasad Shāstri's catalogue of the Asiatic Society collection. Banerjee also notes that the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā appear to be mentioned in a list of texts contained in the Pagan inscription of 1442, and quotes N.R. Ray's discussion of this fact.

The main body of Banerjee's "Note" discusses various points raised in the introduction to the Vimalaprabhā. Banerjee rightly notes: "The commentary shows that the commentator was a well-read scholar and was quite conversant with the views of different Brahmanic and Buddhistic schools. He quotes from numerous known and unknown texts" (Bandyopadhyaya 1952:73). Banerjee also notes Puṇḍarīka's description of the Sanskrit used in the Kālacakra literature, and the Vimalaprabhā's discussion of meat-eating. He then gives a paraphrase of the story of Yaśas's conversion of the brahman sages of Sambhala, to be found in Vimalaprabhā I.3 (see Chapter 3 of the translation below). This "Note" ends with a transcription and explanation of Vimalaprabhā I.1-2, 98, centering on the meaning of the term kālacakra.

Banerjee's "A Note on the Kālacakryāna of Tantric Buddhism" (Banerjee 1958) is a series of paraphrases of

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previous scholars' comments on the Vajrayāna in general and the Kālacakra in particular. It perpetuates such modern inventions as a "Kālacakrayāna," Asaṅga's role in the origin of the Vajrayāna, and other misconceptions.

Banerjee's doctoral dissertation, Über das Lokadhātu Patala: I. Kapitel des Laghu-Kālacakra-tantra rāja (Banerjee 1959), was written under the guidance of Helmut Hoffmann at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München. This work was not published, and my access to it is limited to a film which is missing the introduction, footnotes, and a number of pages (see the Bibliography).[17] The portion on the film is the main body of the dissertation (222 pages), which consists of an edition of the Sanskrit and an annotated translation of the lokadhātuvinyāsa-paṭala of the Śrī Kālacakra. Banerjee's edition is based on three manuscripts: one each from Cambridge, London, and Patna. The edition is basically sound, but there are instances where the correct reading is to be found in the Tibetan translation and/or the Vimalaprabhā. Banerjee recognizes the importance of these sources for establishing and interpreting the text, but

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[17] Also, my comments below are limited to Banerjee's treatment of Śrī Kālacakra I.1-27, 128-170, i.e., the portions of the text I have translated in Part II of this dissertation. I have not carefully examined his treatment of Śrī Kālacakra I.28-127.

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his use of them is not entirely systematic, nor is it always felicitous. However, these minor lapses do not detract from Banerjee's pioneering and generally successful effort to establish and understand this chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra. (For similar remarks see Schuh 1973:11, 24.) Although my translation is based on the interpretations of the Vimalaprabhā, the Tibetan translation, and Indian and Tibetan secondary sources, I also benefited from studying Banerjee's translation of the verses we treat in common. It should also be noted that Banerjee's dissertation contains the only complete rendering of Śrī Kālacakra I.28-127 in a modern language.

Banerjee has recently published A Critical Edition of Śrī Kālacakratantra-rāja (Collated with the Tibetan version) (Banerjee 1985). This consists of an introduction and a new edition of the Śrī Kālacakra.

In the introduction Banerjee describes the five manuscripts his edition is based on: one each from the Cambridge University Library, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (London), and Visva-Bharati (West Bengal), and two from the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute (Patna). He also mentions the editio princeps published by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra. Banerjee next considers the relation of the Śrī Kālacakra (the Kālacakra laghutantra) to the Kālacakra mūlatantra. He says: "The

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Mūlatantra of our text appears unfortunately to be lost for ever inasmuch as we do not possess anything of the Mūlatantra either in the Chinese or in the Tibetan canon" (Banerjee 1985:iv). This is incorrect: the Sekoddeśa, preserved in the Kanjur, is a section of the Kālacakra mūlatantra. The next pages of the introduction (iv-x) discuss the teaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka and its transmission in Sambhala based on information given in the Paramārthasaṃgraha and the Vimalaprabhā. Banerjee then considers the date and circumstances of the introduction of the Kālacakra in India (Banerjee 1985:x-xi). This appears to be a close paraphrase of Hoffmann's writings on the subject, although there is no indication of this in Banerjee's text. Banerjee continues by noting the difficulty of the Kālacakra system, its syncretic nature, its central theme - the integration of wisdom and method, the subject matter of the five chapters, the identity of macrocosm and microcosm, the idea of mahāsukha, and the sidereal allegory used to express the Kālacakra yoga. Much of this information is derived from the first chapter of the Vimalaprabhā. The next section of the introduction (pp. xvii-xx) is a synopsis of Vimalaprabhā I.2, which is an analysis of the contents of the Śrī Kālacakra. Banerjee concludes the introduction with a note on the machines described at Śrī Kālacakra

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I.128-148, a mention of the grammatical peculiarities of the text, and a reference to a "Study" of the Kālacakra system he has planned (cf. also p. x).

Turning to Banerjee's edition of the Sanskrit text of the Śrī Kālacakra, we would first note his comment on the editio princeps of Vira and Chandra:

> ...the text has not been checked up with the Tibetan translation and appears to be full of corrupt and unintelligible readings. The present edition has consulted the printed edition (D) [of Vira and Chandra] also and has tried to settle the readings with the help of the Tibetan translation as far as practicable (Banerjee 1985:ii).

A similar assessment of the Vira-Chandra edition had previously been made by Hoffmann:

> The edition of Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (RL) is far from being critical and does not, notwithstanding it gives besides the Sanskrit text the Tibetan and Mongolian translations, try at all to make use of this important Tibetan version (the Mongolian depends only on the Tibetan) for textual criticism (Hoffmann 1969:54).

Unfortunately, a comparison of the Vira-Chandra edition with Banerjee's edition raises a number of questions about how far the word "critical" in the title of Banerjee's work is justified. For example, at Śrī Kālacakra I.1b Vira-Chandra report in their apparatus that the Cambridge manuscript reads praṇamyaṃ; although Banerjee used the same manuscript, and consulted Vira-Chandra, he reports no variants. The same phenomenon occurs at Śrī Kālacakra I.7a, 8c, 10c, 16b, 22a, 37b, etc.

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Also, Banerjee's reporting of his differences from Vira-Chandra is not entirely systematic, and he does not report the variant readings of Vira-Chandra's manuscript "Ne" at all. A relatively minor but nonetheless troubling point is Banerjee's spelling of the word sambhala. At Śrī Kālacakra I.26a and elsewhere he spells it śambhala (no variants cited), but the Vira-Chandra edition, Upadhyaya's edition, and all of the manuscripts I have examined are unanimous that the correct spelling is sambhala. Banerjee seems to have tacitly "corrected" the spelling in accordance with the Tibetan transliteration. A more serious matter is found on p. 23 of his edition. Banerjee says: "The Patna Ms. reads a verse after this as verse 90 which does not occur either in the other Mss. or in the Tibetan translation" (Banerjee 1985:23). This is a cogent observation, but Banerjee does not reproduce the verse either in the text or in the critical apparatus. This is totally unacceptable in a critical edition.

Banerjee's principle in using the Tibetan translation is unclear to me. The subtitle of the work indicates the Sanskrit text is "collated" with the Tibetan version. However, the apparatus to the edition only contains certain snippets of the Tibetan translation - sometimes nothing, sometimes words, sometimes grammatically incomplete phrases, sometimes entire pādas - and we are

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rarely given any indication of the relevance of a particular fragment of the Tibetan to the editing of the Sanskrit.

A problem with Banerjee's edition that is not his fault is the manner in which it is printed. The r before consonants is often illegible, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish i, o, and au. There is no list of corrigenda.

The exact value of Banerjee's edition of the Śrī Kālacakra can only be determined by using it. I only recently obtained a copy of this work, and the above comments are the results of a precursory examination. It appears to offer some definite improvements on the text produced by Vira and Chandra. However, a critical edition should at least eliminate the need to consult the manuscripts it is based on (not to mention previous printed editions), and it is uncertain that Banerjee has accomplished this basic goal.

Winfried Petri

Winfried Petri's publications on the Kālacakra primarily focus on the technical astronomy presented in the first chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra. His first publication on the subject is a brief communication entitled "Astronomisches im indo-tibetischen Kālacakra"

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(Petri 1960). It mentions the name, source, and origin of the Kālacakra, and says that the astronomical components of the system originated at different times. Petri notes that the Kālacakra contains the Julian year of 365.25 days, and a value for the precession of 54" per annum.

Petri's major work on the Kālacakra astronomy is his Habilitationsschrift, Indo-tibetische Astronomie (Petri 1966a), written under the guidance of Helmut Hoffmann. Petri announced the imminent publication of this work several times (Petri 1966c:90 [n.4]; 1968:97 [n. 3]; 1971:324 [n. 7]), but it has not appeared. The Habilitationsschrift is divided into 10 chapters: (1) the history of Indian astronomy, (2) texts on astronomy in the Kālacakra, (3) numbers and calculations, (4) system of measurements, (5) cosmography, (6) the ecliptic, (7) the course of the moon and time reckoning, (8) the planets, (9) the pseudo-planets, and (10) summary and prospectus. Petri utilizes the Śrī Kālacakra, the Kālacakrāvatāra, and other works dealing with the Kālacakra astronomy. He translates and studies about thirty verses from the Śrī Kālacakra, most of them from the section on astronomy. I obtained a copy of Petri's Habilitationsschrift only recently, and have not yet studied it thoroughly, but it is obviously a valuable contribution to the study of the

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Kālacakra astronomy. (For remarks on this work see Schuh 1973:11, 24).

Petri's "Ob astronomicheskom soderzhanii pervoi knigi Kalachakra-tantra (Sanskritskii i Tibetskii teksty)" (Petri 1966b) appears to give a summary of Petri's Habilitationsschrift.

Petri's brief article "Tibetan Astronomy" (Petri 1967) surveys the results of his research on the Kālacakra astronomy, with an emphasis on various problems for further study. Petri notes:

> The Indian character of Tibetan astronomy being established, we ask next about the relations between this 'Buddhist' [Kālacakra] astronomy and the classical Siddhāntas. The answer is handicapped by the inhomogeneous contents of the Kālacakra texts, where different levels of knowledge have been mixed up. But if we neglect some apparently late additions, the assumption of pre-siddhāntic origin seems more probable than not (Petri 1967:161).

In the summary at the head of this article Petri writes:

> It may be that a close study of the Tibetan texts will enable us to elucidate the pre-siddhāntic epoch of Indian astronomy; but the apparently crude character of the [Kālacakra] calculations might also be due to a secondary simplification for practical use (Petri 1967:159).

The latter theory is undoubtedly closer to the truth: (1) the siddhāntas date from the 5th century whereas the Kālacakra first appears in the 11th; (2) the era in the Kalacakra laghukaraṇa is based on the Hijra, and the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā both contain a year that

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corresponds to a date near the beginning of the 11th century (cf. Newman 1987:100 [n. 24]); (3) the Vimalaprabhā refers extensively to the siddhāntas, and implies that the Kālacakra astronomy is intended to make astronomy accessible to those who are put off by the complexities of the siddhāntas (cf. Vimalaprabhā I.9.26);[18] (4) finally, and most importantly, Vimalaprabhā I.9.86 explicitly states that the astronomy in the Śrī Kālacakra is a mere summary intended for service in an internal yogic "sidereal allegory," and that Buddhists wishing to understand the external movements of the celestial bodies should consult the siddhāntas.

Petri's latest contribution to the study of the Kālacakra is his "Indische Astonomie - Ihre Problematik

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[18] In his Habilitationsschrift Petri says: "Beigefügte Erläuterungen beruhen vielfach auf dem Kommentar Vimalaprabhā. Für die vorliegende Untersuchung wurde von der Benutzung desselben abgesehen, da er einen späteren Stand repräsentiert. Erst nachdem es gelungen ist, den ursprünglichen Sinn des Textes von innen heraus, ohne Sekundärinterpretationen, zu klären, kann die Heranziehung der Vimalaprabhā von Nutzen sein" (Petri 1966a:10).

I consider this to be a serious methodological error, and would invert the procedure followed by Petri. It is very unlikely that the Vimalaprabhā is later than the Śrī Kālacakra, but in any case it cannot simply be dismissed as "a later position" or "a secondary interpretation." In my opinion one should determine the meaning of the Śrī Kālacakra based on the interpretations of the Vimalaprabhā and the other commentaries, carefully noting, or course, any places where they differ from a literal reading of the basic text.

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und Ausstrahlung" (Petri 1971). The first half of this article surveys western study of Indian astronomy, and briefly examines various historical and technical problems in the field. The second half gives a general description of the Kālacakra cosmology and time reckoning, and notes parallels between the Kālacakra ideas and other Indian and non-Indian theories. Among the subjects touched on are: cosmogony, cosmography, the theory of planetary and stellar motion, the obliquity of the ecliptic, time reckoning as relative to the different classes of beings, the four world-ages, precession, and the pseudoplanets Rāhu and Ketu. These subjects are all dealt with at greater length in Petri's Habilitationsschrift, but he treats them from a somewhat different perspective in the present article.

Petri's research on the Kālacakra astronomy represents the major portion of western knowledge of the subject. One hopes that his Habilitationsschrift will eventually be published because it would serve as a valuable aid to scholars undertaking a systematic edition and translation of the astronomical sections of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā.

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Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra

Beginning in 1965 Lokesh Chandra published The Collected Works of Bu-ston (Chandra 1965). This is a facsimile edition of Bu ston's gsung 'bum; the first five volumes contain his works on the Kālacakra. Chandra has written a helpful survey of the contents of these volumes (Vira 1966:11-12), and students of the Kālacakra are indebted to him for making this important resource easily accessible.

In 1966 Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra's editio princeps of the Sanskrit text of the Śrī Kālacakra appeared in a volume entitled Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts (Vira 1966). Lokesh Chandra's preface to the edition reproduces excerpts dealing with the Kālacakra from Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls and Hoffmann's The Religions of Tibet. It also contains a list of works on the Kālacakra appearing in the Tohoku catalogue of the sDe dge canon, and a useful survey of the Kālacakra writings of Bu ston, Tsong kha pa, mKhas grub, rGyal tshab, and later Gelugpa scholars. The preface concludes with a description of the manuscripts used in the edition. These are: (1) Cambridge University Library Add. 1364; palmleaf; Bengali script; dated Vikramāditya 1503 (=1446 A.D.); (2) Bir Library; devanāgarī. Chandra reproduces the colophon

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of the Cambridge manuscript, but the Bir Library manuscript lacks a detailed colophon.

The edition is essentially a collation of the two manuscripts. Variant readings are listed in the critical apparatus, but no discernable attempt has been made to establish the text with the help of the Tibetan translation or the commentaries. (For further remarks on Vira and Chandra's edition of the Sanskrit see the observations on Banerjee's edition above.) Besides the Sanskrit text, Kālacakra-tantra and Other Texts contains unedited reproductions of the Peking edition of the Tibetan translation, and the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan translation.

In 1971 Chandra published a facsimile edition of an excellent palmleaf manuscript of the Śrī Kālacakra in a volume entitled Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet (Chandra 1971). There is no preface describing the manuscripts contained in the volume. The manuscript of the Śrī Kālacakra is complete in 120 folios, is well written in Bengali script, and is dated Śaka 1186 (=1263-1264 A.D.) (p. 239/3; f. 120a/3). It is also noteworthy that the colophon equates this year with the 1808th year after the Buddha's parinirvāṇa: bhagavati parinirvṛte 'ṣṭābdādhikāṣṭādaśaśate...likhitaṃ (p. 239/2; f. 120a/2). This is one of a number of instances in which the later

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Sinhalese calculation of the parinirvāṇa (544 B.C.) is used for chronological purposes in late Indian and Tibetan sources. The title page to Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet indicates that the manuscript was found in the sNar thang monastery in Tibet. Rāhula Saṅkṛtyāyana had previously photographed this manuscript during one of his expeditions to Tibet; while in Patna in 1985 I noticed that a film of the manuscript is kept in the Saṅkṛtyāyana collection at the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute. It is curious that Banerjee did not utilize this valuable manuscript in his recent edition of the Śrī Kālacakra. He describes two manuscripts from the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute collection (Banerjee 1985:ii), but neither of them corresponds to this one.

Günter Grönbold

Günter Grönbold's doctoral dissertation, ṢAḌ-AṄGA-YOGA: Raviśrījñāna's Guṇabharaṇī nāma Ṣaḍaṅgayogaṭippaṇī mit Text, Übersetzung und literarhistorischem Kommentar (Grönbold 1969), was written at the Ludwigs-Maximilians-Universität in München under the guidance of Helmut Hoffmann. As its title indicates, the first part of the dissertation consists of an edition and translation of the Sanskrit text of the Guṇabharaṇī, Raviśrījñāna's commentary on the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga of Anupamarakṣita. The

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edition is based on the unique manuscript preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London Hodgson Collection (no. 68); this has been emended in light of the Tibetan translation. The German translation is literal and faithful to the original.

The second part of Grönbold's dissertation examines the historical background of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga. This includes a brief discussion of the Kālacakra tantra, a detailed study of the main guru lineage of the Kālacakra ṣaḍaṅgayoga precepts, an examination of the Guhyasamāja ṣaḍaṅgayoga tradition, and a discussion of Hindu sources for the study of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga. The appendix contains extracts (with translations) from the texts discussed in the preceding portion of the dissertation. Following the appendix is a useful list of important terms from the Guṇabharaṇī, and a bibliography.

Grönbold has recently published a series of articles dealing with the ṣaḍaṅgayoga. "Der sechsgliedrige Yoga des Kālacakra-tantra" (Grönbold 1983a) begins with a discussion of the general background of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga doctrine and the history of the Kālacakra system. The main body of the article consists of an edition, translation, and detailed discussion of Śrī Kālacakra IV.116-117, one of the primary sources for the Kālacakra ṣaḍaṅgayoga teachings. This provides a good overview of

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the subject matter treated in Grönbold's dissertation. The article has two appendices: The first gives the text of the commentary on Śrī Kālacakra IV.116-117 found in the Vimalaprabhā and Nāro's Paramārthasaṃgraha, which are identical here. The second appendix is a list of citations found in the Guṇabharaṇī.

Grönbold's "Materialien zur Geschichte des Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga I. Der Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga im Hinduismus" (Grönbold 1983b) examines Hindu texts containing lists of yogas that may be related to the Buddhist ṣaḍaṅgayoga. "Materialien zur Geschichte des Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga II. Die Offenbarung des Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga im Kālacakra-System" (Grönbold 1984) reproduces and translates the Indian and Tibetan sources for the story of Anupamarakṣita. "Materialien zur Geschichte des Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga III. Die Guru-Reihen im buddhistischen Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga" (Grönbold 1982) studies the Indo-Tibetan guru lineages of the ṣaḍaṅgayoga. "Materialien zur Geschichte des Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga IV. Tibetische Literatur zum Ṣaḍaṅga-yoga" (Grönbold 1983c) surveys the voluminous literature in Tibetan (both canonical and indigenous) dealing with the ṣaḍaṅgayoga. These four articles reproduce much of the content of Grönbold's doctoral dissertation, but they also provide the results of his subsequent research on the ṣaḍaṅgayoga.

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Grönbold's publications meet a high standard of scholarship. The ṣaḍaṅgayoga is an extremely difficult subject - it represents the pinnacle of Vajrayāna esotericism. Grönbold's sober, meticulous approach to his material has produced results that provide a solid foundation for future study of the Kālacakra utpannakrama; his works are essential reading for students of the Kālacakra.

Dieter Schuh

Dieter Schuh's Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung (Schuh 1973) is a scientific description of Tibetan calendrics. Because the Tibetan calendar systems are to a great extent derived from the Kālacakra, Schuh necessarily deals with the relevant portions of the first chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra and other related texts. I only recently obtained a copy of this work, and have not yet studied it thoroughly. However, it appears to offer improvements on Banerjee and Petri's interpretations of the calendrical portions of the first chapter of the Śrī Kālacakra. Schuh's work is especially valuable for its examination of the utilization of the Kālacakra calendar in Tibet.

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Edward Todd Fenner

Edward Todd Fenner's doctoral dissertation, Rasayana Siddhi: Medicine and Alchemy in the Buddhist Tantras (Fenner 1979), is the only study to date of this interesting aspect of the Kālacakra tantra. Part I of the thesis is divided into five chapters: Chapter 1 examines current views of Buddhist alchemy, primarily those of Shashi Bhusan Dasgupta and Mircea Eliade, which are mostly derived from the explanations contained in Praphulla Chandra Ray's History of Hindu Chemistry. Chapter 2 is a brief survey of non-Indian alchemical traditions: Greek, Islamic, Medieval European, and Chinese. Chapter 3 discusses the various practices that go under the name rasāyana. Chapter 4 discusses the history of Indian alchemy with concentration on the history of the Kālacakra. Here Fenner refers to Roerich's translation of the Deb ther sngon po (Roerich 1949), Csoma de Körös (1833), and Hoffmann (1969). He concludes that "it seems hard to deny that [the Kālacakra] was composed sometime in the two to three hundred year period between the establishment of Baghdad as the capital of the Abbasids and the time of Nāropa" (Fenner 1979:94). Based on the fact that Kālacakra rasāyana includes the use of mercury, he thinks "The Kālacakra seems to have been written in an area under Chinese influence" (Fenner 1979:97). Chapter 5

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discusses the possible dangers of ingesting the elixirs described in the tantras.

Part II of the thesis is again divided into five chapters: Chapter 1 is introductory. In it Fenner explains why he translated the texts he did, a description of the texts, and problems of translation. On p. 111 he give a useful list of passages related to rasāyana in the Buddhist tantras. For the translations he used "Bu ston's edition of the Vimalaprabhā, coordinated with the Peking edition of the root text, the Kālacakratantra... The Sanskrit edition of the root text put out by Lokesh Chandra was constantly referred to, especially in the case of botanical terms, but the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭika was generally used as the basis for the translation into English. The reason for this is that the Tibetan translation of the root text coordinated more easily with the commentary which is currently unavailable in Sanskrit" (Fenner 1979:116-117). Fenner notes that "What is presented here as chapter two, verses 107-128 (Bu ston's numeration), is in the Sanskrit edition verses 107-134. Verses 116-121 of the Sanskrit edition are not included in the Tibetan texts" (Fenner 1979:117).[19]

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[19] Banerjee notes: "The following six verses (116-121) are not found in the Patna Mss. of the text. The Tibetan versions of Derge, Narthang, and the Peking (Japanese) edition also do not include these verses" (Śrī

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Fenner also notes that some of the verses in the fifth chapter of the tantra are not commented on in the Vimalaprabhā, and he has not attempted to translate them due to their obscurity. He observes that the texts are difficult to translate, even with the commentary, and that "this text is meant for someone who already has practical instruction in the subject. It is a reference book, not a textbook" (Fenner 1979:118). Chapter 2 is a translation of Śrī Kālacakra II.107-128 (Fenner's numbering) together with the Vimalaprabhā's comments and Bu ston's annotations. Chapter 3 is a translation of Śrī Kālacakra V.201-230 with the Vimalaprabhā's comments and Bu ston's annotations. Chapter 4 is a transliteration of the Tibetan text used as the basis of the translation given in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 is a transliteration of the Tibetan text used as the basis of the translation given in Chapter 3. Following Chapter 5 is a Glossary of Botanical and Mineral Terms, the notes, and a select bibliography.

Fenner's work is a useful contribution to the study of one of the many difficult scientific subjects treated in the Kālacakra, and it is adds to our knowledge of Indian alchemy in general.

Kālacakra (S) p. 72).

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Edwin Marshall Bernbaum

Edwin Marshall Bernbaum has written extensively on the myth of Sambhala. His book, The Way to Shambhala (Bernbaum 1980)[20] is written "for a general audience with no particular background in Tibet or Tibetan mythology and religion... At the same time, it contains material that has not been published elsewhere and should be of interest to specialists in a number of fields" (Bernbaum 1980:xiii). "The book...progresses from a description of the myth to an interpretation of its inner meaning. The first four chapters deal with Shambhala in general, its possible existence, and its relation to other myths. Chapter 5 provides background on the nature of Tibetan Buddhism and the mystical teaching kept in the hidden kingdom. Chapter 6 begins the actual interpretation by looking at what Shambhala symbolizes in the mind. Chapters 7 and 8 present stories of the journey to Shambhala and translations of guidebooks describing the way to the kingdom. Chapter 9 interprets the guidebooks as allegories for a journey into the hidden depths of the mind. Chapter 10 looks at the prophecy of Shambhala in some detail and goes on to examine its symbolism. Chapter

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[20] Reviewed by Lattimore (1982) and Thurman (1982).

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11 relates the myth to everyday life and brings the book to its conclusion" (Bernbaum 1980:iv).

The Way to Shambhala contains a wealth of information on the myth of Sambhala as it is understood by the Tibetans. The great strength of the book is that it faithfully reproduces the views of the numerous contemporary lamas Bernbaum interviewed on the subject. However, Bernbaum's own interpretations of the myth are extremely problematic. As he notes: "Most Tibetans who are familiar with the [guidebooks] take them as literal descriptions of an outer journey to Shambhala. They do not usually speak of them as instructions for an inner journey into the mind" (Bernbaum 1980:228). Although some lamas Bernbaum interviewed thought that the guidebooks could be read as allegories for a spiritual path, none of them offered interpretations that convincingly correlate the journey described in the guidebooks to the yogic path explained in the Kālacakra. In any case, Bernbaum's analysis of the journey to Sambhala in terms of three levels of consciousness - surface consciousness, subconscious, and superconscious - seems to owe more to Freudian psychoanalysis than to Buddhism. He applies his model with great vigor and ingenuity, but the "inner meanings" he discerns do not bear any resemblance to the path system taught in the Kālacakra tantra. This

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criticism aside, The Way to Shambhala is a noteworthy contribution to the study of the mythology of the Kālacakra: it recapitulates all of the previous western study of the subject, presents a large amount of new information, and articulates thought-provoking, innovative interpretations in a very readable style.

Bernbaum's doctoral dissertation is entitled The Mythic Journey and Its Symbolism: A Study of the Development of Buddhist Guidebooks to Śambhala in Relation to Their Antecedents in Hindu Mythology (Bernbaum 1986). As its title indicates it is a study of the guidebooks (Tib. lam yig) to Sambhala.[21] The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 is introductory, and is subdivided into two sections, one surveying previous western studies of the myth of Sambhala, and the other presenting Bernbaum's own approach and methodology. The first section is a very useful and interesting overview of western contact with the myth of Sambhala. Regarding his approach and methodology, Bernbaum says, "This dissertation will approach the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala in two stages, employing two kinds of methodology. The first stage will use standard

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[21] Bernbaum adopts the Tibetan spelling of this name, i.e., sham bha la. For the sake of consistency I will stay with the spelling attested in the Sanskrit MSS, sambhala.

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philological and comparative methods to analyze the basic themes of the overall myth, trace the course of their development in Tibet, and examine their appropriation of features from antecedents in Hindu mythology... The second stage of the dissertation will draw on the relationship between myth and metaphor to uncover and elucidate the process underlying the historical development traced in the first part. It will show, in particular, how juxtaposition with various conceptions of sādhana and mārga, ritual practice and the path to enlightenment, has shaped the overall structure of the mythic journey to Śambhala and governed the process of syncretism involved in its appropriation of features from antecedents in Hindu mythology... The second stage...will use this relation of myth to metaphor to formulate the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition as the key to elucidating the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala" (Bernbaum 1986:11, 14).

Chapter 2 is entitled "Texts and Translations" and has two sections: a survey of the literature on Sambhala, and a discussion of the guidebooks to Sambhala. The first section gives a brief but comprehensive survey of the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist texts related to the myth of Sambhala, excluding the guidebooks. The second section concentrates on the guidebooks. The first of these

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treated is the Shambha la pa'i lam yig of the 13th century Tibetan lama and traveller Man lungs pa (alias Man lungs Guru).[22] Bernbaum notes: "I found a copy of the text in Zanskar, without author or date mentioned in its colophon. Berthold Laufer translated a section of it in 1907, also from an anonymous, undated manuscript. By its description of Peking in another section, he concluded that it dated to the thirteenth century. In the text obtained in Zanskar, I found additional passages quoted by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes in his guidebook to Śambhala. There he identified the author of those passages as Man lung pa, author of a guidebook to Śambhala which he, the Panchen Lama, had rejected as not being authoritative. The Blue Annals identifies Man lung pa as a thirteenth century lama with a deep interest in the Kālacakra, thereby completing the identification of the Zanskar text as his and positively dating it to the thirteenth century" (Bernbaum 1986:37-38). Bernbaum's MS is divided into five chapters, and he gives a translation of two extracts from the fourth chapter, the one dealing with Sambhala, which had previously been translated by Laufer. He also gives translations of some passages from texts by Bu ston, mKhas

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[22] Bernbaum adopts the form man lung pa for this name; I follow the spelling recorded by Roerich (1949:1217).

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grub, and 'Gos gZhon nu dpal relating the journeys of Indian pandits to Sambhala, which had previously been translated by Roerich and myself.

The main body of Chapter 2 is a study of the Kalāpāvatāra, a guidebook to Sambhala preserved in the Tanjur. Bernbaum examines the relationship between this text and the Shambha la'i lam yig of the Panchen lama bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, which was previously translated by Albert Grünwedel. He points out that for the journey to Sambhala the Panchen lama for the most part simply restates the contents of the Kalāpāvatāra, with occasional elaboration. Bernbaum then gives a complete translation of the Kalāpāvatāra based on the Peking and Derge editions of the text, annotating it with comments showing where bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes has made significant alterations in the process of creating his own lam yig. Bernbaum notes that the Kalāpāvatāra is divided into prose and verse sections, and believes the prose is older than the verses. We will return to this below.

Chapter 3 analyses the myth of Sambhala in terms of the ideas of messianic history and prophecy, Sambhala as an earthly paradise, the mythic journey, and structural parallels of space and time. In this chapter Bernbaum considers the problem of the relation of the Kalāpāvatāra to the Kālacakra tradition. Beginning here he takes it as

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given that the verse portions of the text are "later additions" (Bernbaum 1986:115, et seq), and says "The Kalāpāvatāra is the only source that contains no clear reference to the Kālacakra in Śambhala" (Bernbaum 1986:116). On pp. 128-133 he surveys the evidence for deciding the relative antiquity of the Kalāpāvatāra and the Kālacakra literature. Based on his belief that the Kalāpāvatāra omits a number of key features in the Kālacakra presentation of Kalāpa, Sambhala, and other mythological motifs, he says: "On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that, although translated into Tibetan at a very late date, the Kalāpāvatāra was probably composed quite early in India, before the appearance of the Kālacakra Tantra and possibly even before the founding of Islam in the seventh century. It seems very likely that the text influenced the primary texts of the Kālacakra Tantra, the Kālacakratantra and Vimalaprabhā" (Bernbaum 1986:133). We will return to this issue below.

Chapter 4 examines antecedents in Hindu mythology in terms of messianic history and prophecy, the earthly paradise, and the mythic journey. Bernbaum demonstrates that the Buddhist myth of the Kalkīs of Sambhala is derived from the Hindu myth of Kalki of Śambhala, and points out some of the possible sources for the Buddhist myth in Hindu texts, notably the Mahābhārata and the

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Puranas. On pp. 182-194 he translates Rāmāyaṇa 4.42.10-60, the journey to Uttarakuru, and shows a number of material elements it shares with the Kalāpāvatāra. He concludes that "The [Buddhist] mythic journey to Śambhala represents a syncretic composition of various elements from Hindu mythology considerably transformed and elaborated in a new setting. With regard to its Hindu antecedents, it derives principally from two important journeys to the north - the journey to Uttarakuru from the Rāmāyaṇa and the journey to Kailāsa from various sources, including the actual pilgrimage to the mountain" (Bernbaum 1986:194).

Chapter 5 discusses metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of the mythic journey to Sambhala. He applies the theory of metaphoric juxtaposition to the journeys to Uttarakuru described in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and to the journey to Sambhala described in the Buddhist guidebooks. Regarding the latter, Bernbaum thinks the journey to Sambhala described in the Kalāpāvatāra and the Shambha la'i lam yig is a metaphor for the sādhana (practices) employed on the mārga (path) to Buddhahood.

Chapter 6, the conclusion, examines the theory of metaphoric juxtaposition in the overall development of the myth of Sambhala. Bernbaum says, "...the unifying feature in the overall development of the myth of Śambhala is not

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a particular metaphor, such as that of the journey as mārga, but rather the general process of metaphoric juxtaposition through which the various themes have developed under the influence of different root metaphors" (Bernbaum 1986:280).

I would like to address two issues that Bernbaum raises: (1) the literary history of the Kalāpāvatāra, and (2) the nature of the journey to Sambhala described in this text.

As noted above, Bernbaum first argues that the verse portions of the Kalāpāvatāra are "later additions" "interpolated" into the prose portions of the text; henceforth he simply asserts this as a fact. I have read this text several times and see no reason to subscribe to this theory. Bernbaum says: "[The prose sections] stand on their own as a complete account, focused primarily on a description of the journey to Śambhala. The poetry sections, on the other hand, do not stand on their own: they supply the introduction to the journey and a commentary on it, suggesting they were composed later" (Bernbaum 1986:81). The fact that the prose on its own provides a complete account of the journey to Kalāpa whereas the verses do not is irrelevant: it is common practice in Sanskrit literature to lay out the frame of a narrative in prose and elaborate on various episodes or

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points in verse. Bernbaum says: "In addition, the prose sections contain relatively straightforward language that is easy to read, whereas the sections in verse are much more cryptic and convoluted, written in a more ornamental style that would appear to be a later elaboration on the original text" (Bernbaum 1986:81). It is impossible to make any sound judgement about the style of a Sanskrit text based solely on its Tibetan translation, but even if we assume that the verses of the Sanskrit original were also much more cryptic, convoluted, and ornamental than the prose, this does nothing to prove they were interpolated into a prose original. Sanskrit authors love to parade their knowledge of kāvya, and what better place to do this than in poetic elaborations on the frame of a narrative. In brief, it is impossible to stratify a Sanskrit text based solely on stylistic features in its Tibetan translation. Bernbaum has provided no convincing evidence to justify his stratification of the Kalāpāvatāra.

Bernbaum says that there is no clear reference to the Kālacakra in the Kalāpāvatāra, and that its author seems to be unaware of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā (Bernbaum 1986:116, 129-131). This is incorrect. Among the list of texts to be found in Kalāpa are:

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/dges pa'i rdo rje chen po dang/

/rjes su rig pa rnal 'byor rgyud/

/bde bshegs kun gyi 'dus pa ni/

/stong phrag nyi shu rtsa lnga pa/

/dam pa dang po'i sangs rgyas rgyud/[23]

"...the great Hevajra, the Yogānuviddha-tantra, the twenty-five thousand line Samāja of all the Tathāgatas, the Paramādibuddha-tantra..."[24]

This derives from the belief within the Kālacakra tradition that the Vajrayāna mūlatantras are extant in Sambhala. The four texts listed are the mūlatantras of the Hevajra, Yamāntaka, Guhyasamāja, and Kālacakra systems, and they are referred to in Vimalaprabhā I.4.1 and elsewhere in the Bodhisattva Corpus.[25] It is clear

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[23] Peking #5908; vol. 149, 160/4/4-5; Derge #4464, bsTan 'gyur: sNa tshogs PO f. 317a/4-5; sNar thang bsTan 'gyur: sGra PO f. 335b/3-4.

[24] Cf. Bernbaum's translation (Bernbaum 1986:48). Bernbaum cites Hiroshi Sonami's opinion that dam pa dang po'i sangs rgyas rgyud is meant to modify the title of the following text (Bernbaum 1986:93 [n. 140]). I respectfully differ on this point.

[25] See Newman (1987) for a discussion of the Paramādibuddha and some of the other mūlatantras referred to in the Vimalaprabhā. Bernbaum follows Roerich's early translation of byang chub sems dpa'i skor as "the knowledge of the Bodhisattvas" as opposed to my rendering of this expression as "the Bodhisattva Corpus" (Bernbaum

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that the author of the Kalāpāvatāra was familiar with the Kālacakra literature, and that he assumed his readers were as well. This explains why some of the mythological elements appearing in the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā are absent in the Kalāpāvatāra: the author felt no need to repeat what was already common knowledge. In brief, Bernbaum's theory that the Kalāpāvatāra influenced the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā is without foundation. The opposite is certainly the case.

Turning to the question of whether or not the journey to Sambhala as depicted in the Kalāpāvatāra is intended to function as an allegory for the path to enlightenment, my reading of the text differs considerably from Bernbaum's. As I understand it, the Kalāpāvatāra describes a fantastic journey replete with horrible dangers and hardships, monsters, and seductive inhuman females. It is a clever adaptation of the journey to Uttarakuru described in the Rāmāyaṇa, as Bernbaum has convincingly demonstrated. However, it strikes me as being mainly a piece of literature - I do not see anything especially soteriological about it. It is true that the text prescribes various sādhanas as means of overcoming the

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1986:40-41, 89 [n. 86]). This is a step backward. By the time Roerich translated the Deb ther sngon po he understood that this referred to a body of literature (Roerich 1949:753, 762-765, 824-825, 838).

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dangers, hardships, monsters, and so forth, but these are nothing but mundane magic.[26] In any case, if the Kalāpāvatāra articulates an allegory for the path to enlightenment, why is there no evidence that the Indians or Tibetans understood it in that way? One would expect Panchen bLo bzang dpal ldan ye shes to take some notice of this in his Shambha la'i lam yig, yet he does not. Also, if the Kalāpāvatāra is an allegory for the path, how is it related to the path explained in the Kālacakra tantra? These are questions that must be addressed before we can elaborate theories about the deeper significance of the guidebooks to Sambhala.

The preceding criticism is not intended to depreciate the many meritorious features of Bernbaum's dissertation. Although I do not agree with all of his interpretations of the aims and significance of the guidebooks, Bernbaum is certainly on the right track in interpreting them within a Buddhist context. His translation of the Kalāpāvatāra is a useful aid to the study of this difficult work, and it

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[26] Bernbaum says, "The specific sādhanas employed along the way to the kingdom all pertain to the utpanna krama [sic] or arising stage of practice, involving the visualization of and identification with a deity" (Bernbaum 1986:223). This is incorrect. The sādhanas described in the Kalāpāvatāra are only aimed at worldly siddhis, and are not necessarily related to the utpattikrama at all, just as the visualization of and identification with a deity is not specific to the utpattikrama, or even to the Vajrayāna.

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makes an unusual and interesting text available to scholars who cannot read Tibetan. Bernbaum's discovery that the Kalāpāvatāra is related to the journey to Uttarakuru episode of the Rāmāyaṇa helps to explain many of the literary features of the former text, and provides a case study in religious literary syncretism. Although it does not play an important part in his thesis, Bernbaum's discovery of a manuscript of Man lungs Guru's itinerary is very significant. One hopes that this text will be published soon, because it no doubt contains a wealth of valuable geographical and historical information.

Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama

His Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, has recently published a book entitled The Kalachakra Tantra Rite of Initiation for the Stage of Generation (Dalai Lama 1985).[27] The book is translated, edited, and introduced by Jeffrey Hopkins. Hopkins' introduction "first describes the general Great Vehicle view on purification into a state of altruistic service as well as the special tantric practice of deity yoga that is founded on compassion and realization of emptiness. Next,

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[27] Reviewed by Batchelor (1986).

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it describes the process of initiation for the stage of generation, outlining and explaining the many steps in the ritual. It also provides background on the history of the Kalachakra Tantra and introduces the authors and texts" (Dalai Lama 1985:8).

The main body of the book is a translation portions of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang's dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i dkyil chog dgongs pa rab gsal together with the Dalai Lama's oral commentary. This covers the first seven Kālacakra initiations - the four exalted initiations are not treated. The book contains an extremely detailed description of the initiation processes, including the preparatory and concluding procedures. Following the explanation of the initiations are translations of a Kālacakra guru yoga composed by the Dalai Lama and two short six-session yogas. The former is the only Kālacakra sādhana text that has been published in translation, and it provides a good example of how these texts are arranged. The Kalachakra Tantra Rite of Initiation for the Stage of Generation is a valuable aid to the study of the Kālacakra initiations and Vajrayāna initiations in general.

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Geshe Lhundub Sopa

Geshe Lhundub Sopa coauthored The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context (cf. Sopa 1985a) with Roger Jackson and myself. This book is a collection of essays dealing with various aspects of the Kālacakra system. The Dalai Lama's foreword, entitled "Concerning the Kalachakra" (pp. xi-xix), provides a brief overview of the system and its place within Buddhism. The first essay, Roger Jackson's "The Kalachakra in Context" (pp. 1-49), discusses the general evolution of Indian Buddhism, the development of the Vajrayāna and the Kālacakra, and the Kālacakra's position in Tibetan Buddhism. The second essay is my "A Brief History of the Kalachakra" (pp. 51-90), in which I present a sketch of the entire mythology and history of the system based on Indian and Tibetan sources. The third essay, Geshe Sopa's "The Kalachakra Tantra Initiation" (pp. 91-117), provides a summary of the first seven Kālacakra initiations and brief remarks on the two stages, or processes, of practice. (This essay is a helpful introduction to the initiations for readers wishing to study the Dalai Lama's book mentioned above.) The fourth essay is Jackson's "The Kalachakra Generation-Stage Sadhana" (pp. 119-138), a synopsis of portions of mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang's mKhas grub zhal lung. The sixth and final essay in the book, Geshe Sopa's "The

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Subtle Body in Tantric Buddhism" (pp. 139-158; first published as Sopa 1983), is a thought-provoking discussion of the Guhyasamāja and Kālacakra path systems.[28]

Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey

Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey has written a short article and a book dealing with the Kālacakra, both of which are intended for western disciples who have received initiation into the Kālacakra tantra. The article, "An Introduction to and an Outline of the Kalacakra Initiation" (Dhargyey 1975), briefly describes the place of the Kālacakra within Buddhism, the history of the system, its literature, and an outline of the eleven initiations.

Geshe Dhargyey's book, A Commentary on the Kalacakra Tantra (Dhargyey 1985), is intended to be "restricted to those who have received the Kalacakra initiation." The book is an edited translation of lectures Geshe Dhargyey gave at the University of Washington - Seattle in the Spring of 1982. It describes the preparations for initiation, the initiations themselves, the vows and pledges incumbent upon the initiate, and the practices of the generation and completion processes.

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[28] For a detailed comparison of the Guhyasamāja and Kālacakra completion processes see Cozort (1986:115-133).

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Japanese Study of the Kalacakra

Japanese research on the Kālacakra appears to be limited to three articles: Hakuyu Hadano's "Fundamental Study on the Formation of 'Kālacakra-tantra'" (Hadano 1950) and "The Influences of Hinduism on Buddhism - The Formation of Kālacakra as a Counter Measure Against Islam" (Hadano 1953); and Masanori Sakai's "Concerning the Paramārthasevā" (Sakai 1960). My knowledge of the contents of Hadano's studies is limited to a brief reference to the first article: according to Matsunaga, Hadano concluded that "The Kālacakra-tantra was compiled roughly between AD. 1027-1087..." (Matsunaga 1965:241). In fact the Śrī Kālacakra was probably composed a bit earlier than 1027, since Nāro cites it, the Vimalaprabhā, and the Tantrahṛdaya (Peking #5) in his Paramārthasaṃgraha. Sakai's article is concerned with the identification and contents of a fragment of a manuscript of Puṇḍarīka's Paramārthasevā that was found in China. Sakai corrects earlier misconceptions about the fragment, demonstrates its relation to the Kālacakra literature, and produces an improved edition of the text it covers - the last two verses of the Paramārthasevā.

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Jagannatha Upadhyaya

Jagannatha Upadhyaya's edition of the Sanskrit of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā (Upadhyaya 1986) marks a new era in Kālacakra studies. The work has not yet been released, and I only recently obtained a copy of it.[29] Although I was unable to use it for this dissertation, the edition appears to provide a very serviceable version of the Sanskrit texts. Having the verses of the Śrī Kālacakra printed together with the Vimalaprabhā's commentary greatly facilitates the study of these texts and the Kālacakra system as a whole. Thus far only the first part of Upadhyaya's edition has been published, covering the first two paṭalas of the tantra; we hope the remainder of the edition will appear without delay. Students of the Kālacakra shall be forever indebted to Prof. Upadhyaya, who passed away while his work was in the press.

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[29] I am grateful to Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche, Principal of the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies - Sarnath, for allowing a copy of Prof. Upadhyaya's work to be sent to me prior to its public release, and to John Makransky for facilitating its shipment.

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The Outer Wheel of Time:

Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra

Part II: Translation

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INTRODUCTION

This part of the dissertation is a translation from the Sanskrit and Tibetan of Śrī Kālacakra I.1-27, 128-170 and Vimalaprabhā I.1.1-9.28, 10.128-149.[1] My main purpose in translating the texts is to make them more easily accessible to interested scholars for further study. Thus I have striven for a literal translation that will serve as an aid to the study of the texts in the original languages.

Sanskrit didactic literature differs radically from our standards of literary organization and expression. The texts translated here are more systematically arranged than most Buddhist tantras, but they were written for the Indian literati of the 11th century, not for modern

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[1] The Śrī Kālacakra is numbered according to paṭala and verse: e.g., Śrī Kālacakra I.15 indicates the fifteenth verse of the first paṭala. The Vimalaprabhā is numbered according to paṭala, uddeśa, and verse of the Śrī Kālacakra: thus, Vimalaprabhā I.9.27 indicates the first paṭala, the ninth uddeśa, and the comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.27. The first three uddeśas of the Vimalaprabhā are exceptions because they do not comment on the text of the Śrī Kālacakra. The first uddeśa is entirely in verse, so it is numbered according to paṭala, uddeśa, and verse. The second and third uddeśas are merely numbered according to paṭala and uddeśa.

I follow Upadhyaya's enumeration of the verses of Śrī Kālacakra I. The Vira-Chandra and Banerjee editions omit Upadhyaya's verse 90, which appears in some of the older MSS and some versions of the Tibetan translation. Thus, following verse 89 their enumeration of the verses must be increased by one in order to correspond to Upadhyaya's numbering.

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Westerners. Ideas and information are presented in what appears to us to be an abrupt, disjointed manner. In part this can be accounted for by the fact that these texts are not intended to be read independently, but with the guidance of a teacher belonging to the tradition who is able to supply missing information and, more important, the context. Also, the Śrī Kālacakra is not a treatise- it is an encyclopedia along the lines of the purāṇas. Many subjects that are only mentioned in the translated portions of the text are explained at length later on in the tantra and commentary. Because of the interrelatedness of the subject matter of the tantra, a thorough explanation of the first chapter entails an exposition of the entire system. I have taken a step in this direction in Chapters 7 and 8 of Part I of this dissertation, but achievement of this goal remains a distant prospect.

TEXTS

Śrī Kālacakra - Sanskrit

See the Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan under Śrī Kālacakra (S), (S1), (ST). I translated the verses of the Śrī Kālacakra based on the Vira-Chandra edition [Śrī Kālacakra (S1)] because it was the only printed edition available at the time. This edition is

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merely a collation of the readings of two mediocre manuscripts; thus I re-edited the text in light of the Vimalaprabhā and the Tibetan translation. Since I completed my translation Banerjee's [Śrī Kālacakra (S)] and Upadhyaya's [Vimalaprabhā (SU)] editions of the Śrī Kālacakra have become available, but I was unable to use them except in a few instances.

Śrī Kālacakra - Tibetan

See the Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan under Śrī Kālacakra (T). This is Bu ston's annotated revision of Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan's translation, the translation that appears in the Kanjur. It is extremely accurate and faithful to the Sanskrit.

Vimalaprabhā - Sanskrit

I obtained Upadhyaya's edition of the Sanskrit of the Vimalaprabhā [Vimalaprabhā (SU)] too late to use for translating. However, I have inserted its page numbers in the body of the translation for easy reference - these are marked "U." The translation is based on my collation of the readings of three manuscripts:

B: Asiatic Society of Bengal MS #G.10766; palmleaf; old Bengali script; dated 39th regnal year of Harivarman of

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Bengal (reigned ca. 11th-12th century). For further description and extracts see Shāstri (1917:79-82).

N: Asiatic Society of Bengal MS #G.4727; palmleaf; old Newari script. For further description and extracts see Shāstri (1917:73-79).

D: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions (Stony Brook, NY) microfiche MBB I-24 - LMhj 000,024 [film-strip no. MBB-1971-24-25]; Nepali paper; devanāgarī.

B is a splendid manuscript, and must be the basis of any truly critical edition of the Vimalaprabhā. Since it was copied only about a century after the composition of the text, it represents the oldest extant version of the Sanskrit.[2] It faithfully preserves many grammatical and orthographic peculiarities that have been "corrected" in more recent manuscripts. A cautious editor must have good reason to go against a reading appearing in this manuscript. N is written in a fine hand by a careless, illiterate copyist - consonants are often redundant, and in the photocopy I used the vowels are often illegible. Nevertheless it preserves a fairly accurate text. D appears to be a modern copy of a good exemplar. The

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[2] For another important manuscript of the Vimalaprabhā see Shāstri (1897:315-316) and my discussion in Part I, Chapter 9 under Hara Prasad Shāstri.

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copyist sometimes misreads the conjunct consonants and vowels of the exemplar.

Vimalaprabhā - Tibetan

See Vimalaprabhā (T) in the Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan. This is Bu ston's annotated revision of Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan's translation, the translation appearing in the Tanjur. It is extraordinarily accurate and faithful to the Sanskrit. Occasionally annotations have been inserted into the body of the text and vice versa (undoubtedly scribal or carving errors), but these corruptions are easy to detect.

Commentaries

I mainly relied on mKhas grub's De kho na nyid snang bar byed pa: see the Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan under rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po...(Dus 'khor ṭīk chen). This massive subcommentary explains the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā in great detail - it is an invaluable aid to the study of these texts. It is also an important source for early Gelugpa polemics against the gzhan stong interpretations of the Kālacakra propounded by Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal, etc. mKhas grub constantly attacks the views of anonymous "others," and an annotator has identified the

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"others" as "Dol," "Phyogs," and so forth. mKhas grub's biases must be taken into account when using his subcommentary - he sometimes forces the basic texts to fit his own notions of orthodoxy. Fortunately, this phenomenon is rare, and more often than not mKhas grub gives a balanced account of the conflicting interpretations of a particular passage.

I made occasional use of the Padminī, a pañjikā on the entire Vimalaprabhā. This text would be extremely important if it was not so poor. It was translated into Tibetan by Somanātha, and thus dates to the middle of the 11th century. Unfortunately it only comments on the easier portions of the text, and it seems to make a number of factual errors that indicate the author was not well versed in the Kālacakra.[3]

I also used Bu ston's sNying po snang ba'i 'od zer - a commentary on the first uddeśa of the Vimalaprabhā[4]- and I have translated all of Bu ston's annotations to the

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[3] These comments only apply to the portions of the Vimalaprabhā translated here. I have not examined the Padminī's notes on the later chapters of the text.

[4] This appears to be a restatement of the anonymous dPal ldan dri ma dang bral ba'i 'od kyi rgyud la 'jug pa'i bshad sbyar snying po snang ba (Peking #2066), an Indian commentary to the first uddeśa of the Vimalaprabhā. mKhas grub refers to yet another commentary on the first uddeśa by Acalagarbha, but I have not been able to locate it in the Tanjur.

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Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā. (The latter are very often incorporated in mKhas grub's subcommentary verbatim and without notice.)

PROCEDURE

Before translating the texts I edited them based on the materials described above.[5] With manuscripts, translations, and commentaries of such a high quality available, it was almost always a simple but time-consuming matter to establish the correct reading. (Because my main interest here is in translating the texts, I have provided variae lectiones only for particularly problematic or interesting words and passages.) Next I interpreted the texts based on the Tibetan translations and commentaries. This, of course, was the most subjective part of the process. I attempted to strike a balance between my literal reading of the Sanskrit and the Tibetan interpretations. There were very few cases where I thought the Tibetan translators or

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[5] Before beginning my dissertation research I learned of the imminent publication of Upadhyaya's edition of the Sanskrit of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā, and Banerjee's edition of the Śrī Kālacakra. In correspondence dated 18.1.83, Professor Banerjee informed me that his edition of the Vimalaprabhā is also completed and in the press. With these editions soon to be available, I decided to forego providing an edition of the texts in this dissertation.

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commentators had forced the text to fit their own viewpoints against the author's intention. In such instances I translated according to my reading of the Sanskrit. On the other hand, there were innumerable cases where the translations or commentaries illuminated the Sanskrit. In such passages I naturally followed the Tibetans.

The Tibetans translated and retranslated the Śrī Kālacakra at least fourteen times; the Vimalaprabhā more than ten. This is extraordinary given the size and complexity of these texts. I am certain the following translation can be improved upon in many ways, but I nevertheless hope it will increase the readers' understanding and appreciation of the remarkable world view of the Kālacakra.

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(U 1; Bu 302) In Sanskrit: Vimalaprabhā-nāma-mūlatantrānusāriṇī-dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā.

In Tibetan: bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od ces bya ba.

In English: "The Stainless Light," The Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Wheel of Time King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.

Commentary to the Chapter on the Cosmos

The First Great Brief Account, Which Destroys All Devils and Obstructors: The Precept on the Supreme Chosen Deity and the Noble Path

(D 1b) Homage to Mañjunātha! Homage to Śrī Kālacakra![1]

Homage to Śrī Kālacakra, who consists of emptiness and compassion, without origination or annihilation in the

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[1] The first homage appears in the MSS, but not in Bu. The second homage appears in Bu, but not in the MSS. The first was probably inserted by the scribes, the second by the Tibetan translator. mKhas grub says that the translator's homage was inserted as a mark of auspiciousness so that the translation would be completed (TC 202).

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three existences, the single image of knowledge and objects of knowledge.//(1)

Homage to the one embraced by Bhagavatī Prajñā who is aspectless although possessing aspect; to the one possessing the unchanging bliss of the abandonment of origination and annihilation, rid of the bliss of laughter and so forth; to the Progenitor of the Buddhas, possessing the Three Bodies, rightly knowing the three times - the Omniscient Bhagavān Paramādibuddha, that very nonduality.//(2)[2]

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[2] Vimalaprahā I.1.2 and I.1.99 both appear at the end of Peking #2155: see vol. 51, 183/2/1-3. This text, entitled Śrī-dvibhujasahajasaṃvara-sādhana, is attributed to Śrī Vajraghaṇṭa (dPal rDo rje dril bu); it was translated by Chag Chos rje dpal under the guidance of the Indian pandit Ratnarakṣita. 'Gos gŽhon nu dpal points out the fact that Vimalaprabhā I.1.2 appears in Vajraghaṇṭa's work, and cites this as evidence to support his view that the Kālacakra emerged in India long before the more commonly accepted period (Deb ther sngon po 886; Roerich 1949:754-755). [Note: In his translation of the Deb ther sngon po, Roerich (1949:754) misidentifies the work in question as the Sahajasaṃvara-sādhana, also attributed to Vajraghaṇṭa. That text (Derge #1436; Peking #2153) contains nothing on Kālacakra.]

Vajraghaṇṭa, like most of the mahāsiddhas, has not been dated with any certainty, but a legend recounted by Tāranātha (Chimpa 1970:222) places him early in the spread of the yogini tantras: he may have lived during the 8th century. This, of course, is long before the Kālacakra appeared.

There seems to be an easy way out of this dilemma. Peking #2155 is identical to Sādhanamālā #255 (pp. 503-505); the only difference is that the Sādhanamālā text does not contain Vimalaprabhā I.1.99 (but it does contain Vimalaprabhā I.1.2). The Sādhanamālā text, entitled Dvibhujasambaropadeśa, is attributed to a pandit named Ratnākaragupta. Tāranātha (Chimpa 1970:310) mentions a

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Homage to Kālacakra: the Buddha sitting on the lion throne, the pure vajrayoga worshipped by the three existences, a single reality having sixteen aspects due to the divisions of the Bodies, beyond nonexistence and existence, the unity of knowledge and objects of knowledge, meeting of the best of Jinas, the true aim having twelve aspects due to the factors, bodhicitta, the thunderbolt abode of the Jina.//(3)

Homage to the Ādibuddha: the Omniscient Connate Master of the Jinas, likewise the Gnosis Body - Dharma Body, the Enjoyment Body - the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, and the Emanation Body - the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals; the liberations; (Bu 303) Body, Speech, Mind, Passion; beyond origination and dissolution, pure yoga-nondual wisdom and method; praised by gods, men, and demons.//(4)

Gnosis is well-purified, purified, and unchanging by the gnosis of emptiness. Mind is well-purified, nondual, the self of phenomena by the signless gnosis. Speech is purified by the wishless gnosis, is mantra, the inexhaustible sound. Even so, the stainless one purified by the non-constructional gnosis (U 2) is the yoga that

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Ratnākaragupta as the upadhyāya of Vajrāsana, and the context places him around the end of the 11th century. Thus, I follow the Sādhanamālā's ascription of authorship over that of Peking.

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consists of wisdom and method, the Body of shape that goes miraculously. Homage to beginningless, endless, peaceful bodhicitta: the one the Tathāgatas call Vajrasattva, Bodhisattva, Mahāsattva, Samayasattva; the overlord who has exhausted existent and nonexistent.//(5-8)[3]

Homage to the word EVAṂ: Emanation Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis is a single yoga bond. Enjoyment Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis is a single yoga bond.//(9)

The splendid Dharma Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis is a single yoga bond. Connate Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis is a single yoga bond.//(10)

This is not the bliss born from copulation during waking, dreaming, deep sleep, or the fourth. It does not dwell in the four abodes: gnosis, mind, speech, and body.//(11)

It has completely cast away the karmamudrā and abandoned the jñānamudrā; it is rightly born from the mahāmudrā. It is connate; it does not associate with another.//(12)

It has passed beyond conceptual meditation; it is the unchanging bliss of mahāmudrā (Bu 304). It has abandoned object and subject, shape, thought, and expression.//(13)

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[3] Vimalaprabhā I.1.8c is virtually identical to Guhyasamāja 18.38a.

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It has the aspect of a city of the gandharvas, the nature of a prognostic image; it is the yoga consisting of wisdom and method.//(14)

(D 2a) Homage to Mahāmudrā: passed beyond atomic reality, having the nature of a prognostic image, possessing the best of all aspects.//(15)

Homage to Viśvamātā: the progenitor of all the Buddhas, who has abandoned origination and destruction, who possesses the conduct of Samantabhadra.//(16)

Homage to Kālacakra: even though he has abandoned the absorption of āli and kāli, and the letters HŪṂ, PHAṬ, and so forth, he is the Body born from the unchanging.//(17)

Homage to the Omniscient One, the one called "Gnosis Body," the Body Like the Sun - Overlord, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals. He is the Buddha consisting of the four Bodies due to the division of the sixteen realities. He sits on the vajra lion throne, and is praised by gods and demons. He was previously entreated by Sucandra.//(18-19)

(U 3) Homage to the union of the Pure and Gnosis; to the pledge of the best of Jinas - the union of Mind and Dharma; to the union of Speech and Enjoyment; to the joining of Body and Emanation worshipped by the three existences. This nondual knowledge and object of knowledge, past existence and nonexistence, is four-fold

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Vajrasattva. Homage to that vajrayoga consisting of wisdom and method that is praised by gods, men, and demons.//(20)

I bow my head to the Master worshipped by the three worlds: one foot on menses-sun in the vajra gem, the second on semen-moon in the uṣṇīṣa. They are always undivided, indivisible, set in desire.//(21)[4]

I bow my head to the Master worshipped by the lord of the gods. His feet are set together with the feet of the Mother of Existence (Bu 305) on the heads of Īśvara and Māra, upon the mandalas of wind, fire, water, earth; Meru, a lotus, the moon, the sun, and energy.//(22)

Thus I, a fool, desire to express in the Kālacakra the yoga of unchanging supreme bliss. It is the vajrayoga served and taught by innumerable Sugatas; it is proclaimed by all bodhisattvas who hold the best thunderbolt, who know the mantras. The garuda, swift-moving master of those who travel in the sky, goes in space; can another bird not go?//(23)

In order to cross over it I have entered the great ocean in which the holders of āli-drop, the lords of Jinas, have clearly said that all of existence together

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[4] This verse is cited and commented on at Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 68.

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with the mantras are in one's own body. If I reach the other shore, it is due to the power of the Jinas.//(24)

By means of his ten powers, the Buddha previously prophesied the short tantra in the Paramādibuddha spoken to the Master of the Secret. Thus, Mañjuśrī spoke this entire Kālacakra-laghutantra to the sages in Kalāpa.//(25)

The sixty thousand line commentary written by Sucandra revealed the meaning of all the vehicles.//(26)

I, Puṇḍarīka, shall write a twelve thousand line text on the Abridged Tantra, following the Basic Tantra, that divides the vajra word.//(27)

(D 2b) A yogi dwelling on the path of right gnosis, who has taken the supreme initiation through the ritual taught by the Jina, should hear this tantra or all of the Abridged King of Tantra. Then casting away arrogance, much pleasure, and wealth, one whose mind is fixed on Buddhahood - who acts to benefit others, (Bu 306) should listen to this commentary on the overlord from the guru.//(28)

One without psychic powers who dwells in the splendid Vajrayāna with a heart full of the conceptual dharmas of many treatises devises great commentaries with scholarly conceit - he is like a crazed blind elephant. One who lives to conquer his enemy's tantra causes the ruin of his own tantra - he is always the kinsman of Māra.//(29)

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(U 4) One arrogant in his scholarliness who does not know the speech of the Masters of Jinas, who is always blind to the way, devises a commentary on the best vehicle. He causes other blind men to fall, and enters hell himself. The bliss of women draws his mind to the nonvirtuous paths of despair, killing, and so forth. His bliss of Śrī Prajñā is destroyed. His thunderbolt word is destroyed. He is overcome by external pleasures.//(30)

All those the Teacher himself prophesied in the Vajrayāna that gives the bliss of the Master of Jinas, who compose commentaries and abridgements, are bodhisattvas such as myself, holders of the best thunderbolt. They speak here through the power of the Buddha in order to mature gods, nagas, and men. Those who do not have the five psychic powers[5] and say, "We are Lords of Jinas," speak lies.//(31)

In the future people having various opinions will always trust treatises on dialectics and so forth. Buddhists will also be misled by encountering others' dialectics. I shall write a commentary that crushes the

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[5] The five psychic powers are: (1) clairvoyance, (2) clairaudience, (3) mind reading, (4) remembrance of one's own and others' former existences, and (5) the magical power of flying in space. See Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 5; (T) 107/1/3-4.

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faults of the evil opinions of even those who, trusting dialectics, teach the path to the desired object.//(32)

The ocean of fluid existence has waters of limitless lust. It is churned by snakes and crocodiles - hatred bereft of discrimination. It has a great many currents of delusion. On its beaches are waves of longing for wealth and prosperity that come and go. (Bu 307) In it the mare's mouth maelstrom of the karmas of despair and so forth, and killing and so forth, emits a fierce sound. This commentary on the splendid Vajrayāna is always a helmsman.//(33)

It is a leader on the way so that the great ones striving for the further shore of nirvana, who go swiftly by the sail of wisdom, may quickly cross by means of the noble bliss. This commentary thoroughly reveals the wishing-gem of true gnosis that is proficient in destroying the host of passion-devils, that gives one lordship over the three worlds.//(34)

The great mudrā of Vajradhara is the only one that gives the bliss of omniscience. It is the object that properly destroys the obscurations of the aggregates and so forth. It is like the eight prognostics. One may abandon that and serve a deceitful woman attached to wealth, or an imaginary woman, for Buddhahood. But

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because of that woman whose mind is full of ideas, one will just be reduced to ejaculation.//(35)

(D 3a) From the ruination of desire comes sin, due to hatred towards the most beloved one. From hatred comes delusion; from this one's vajra fall. From that one's mind becomes continually stupid. (U 5) One takes up all other objects - ignoble food, drink, and so forth. That ridicules one's mind, destroys one's bliss, and causes such a wretch to wander in the six destinies.//(36)

Those intent on the path to omniscience do not greatly discriminate between proper and improper words. They always enter the path of the great ones, even through the lowly languages of various countries. The Omniscient One's language is Other, in accordance with the inclinations of sentient beings. The language of those who argue about the words and so forth the gods and nagas arranged in the grammars is different.//(37)

A yogi grasps the meaning even from vernaculars and corrupt words. Swans draw out and drink the milk mixed in the water.//(38)

(Bu 308) In the field of ultimate reality great ones never rely on the letters. What is the use of technical terms when one understands the meaning from the local expressions?//(39)

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That which proper or corrupt words can express is not gnosis. That which is parochial to the world is not the language of the Omniscient One.//(40)

The supreme unchanging Fourth is the Buddhas' wisdom-gnosis. The Jina said that which is again like that is his mahāmudrā.//(41)

What will increase the bliss of one who ejaculates his white semen during intercourse with his prajñā? From what will the mango fruit arise if its bud falls in the spring?//(42)

A miserable person who has not obtained unchanging bliss seeks transitory bliss. The cātaka bird, which is always searching for water, will not drink water on the ground even though it is thirsty.//(43)

The great idiot strives for the impermanent bliss of samsara even though he does not obtain it. Even though he obtains the bliss of total sovereignty, the wise man casts it away for liberation.//(44)

The lion who feeds on deer seeks the delight of coitus once at the end of the year. The pigeon who eats gravel does so all the time.//(45)

But neither has the supreme bliss because they emit their semen once, or all the time. The ascetic and the libidinous man are similar because they ejaculate in a dream, or awake.//(46)

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(U 6) Even a sleeper who is bitten by a snake does not live. An ascetic ruined by a powerless woman's vulva is similar, because he does not retain his semen.//(47)

Cloth of asbestos thread is purified just by burning it in fire. Likewise, the noble mind of men is purified by wisdom-gnosis.//(48)

(Bu 309) Quicksilver touched by fire does not remain motionless, it escapes. Semen without method is always like that from touching a vulva.//(49)

Although quicksilver moves it is bound by mixings with fire due to the power of medicaments and so forth. Likewise, semen is bound by mixings with wisdom by means of the superior yogas.//(50)

(D 3b) Although fire always dwells in wood, it is not seen by means of cutting and splitting. The fire dwelling there is seen by the hands churning the fire drill on its base.//(51)[6]

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[6] Vimalaprabhā I.1.51-74 also appear, in a slightly different order, in Anupamarakṣita's Ṣaḍaṅgayoga (Peking #2102; vol. 47). Thus, these verses are commented on in the Guṇabharaṇī, Raviśrījñāna's commentary on the Ṣaḍaṅgayoga. The correspondences and locations are as follows:

Vimalaprabhā	Ṣaḍaṅgayoga	Guṇabharaṇī
I.1.51-52	275/2/3-5	6b/5-7a/5
I.1.53-54	275/2/1-3	6a/5-6b/5
I.1.55-74	275/2/5-275/4/8	7a/5-12a/1

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Likewise, the clear light of mind is not seen by means of imaginative meditation. It is seen right there by unifying the lalanā and rasanā.//(52)

One does not obtain the sixteen aspect reality having four divisions that the Tathāgata taught through the path of various conceptual thoughts and so forth; for one is separate from the path.//(53)

The reality that is the yoga of the completion process, that is separate from the thoughts of the letters HŪṂ, PHAṬ, and so on taught for the generation process, is the practice of reality; there is no other.//(54)

A yogi obtains that which is called the supreme unchanging bliss of the Buddhas, or the connate bliss of the procuresses, by this path that consists of the signs smoke and so forth, by conveying the vital winds into the middle channel through prāṇāyāma, and by not letting the vajra fall - as well as drawing up the semen, through the discipline with a vidyā.//(55 & 56)

Worldly siddhi is achieved by conditioning oneself to the meditations on the mandala circle and so forth, that have thoughts of form and so on. How can such achieve the great desired siddhi?//(57)

(Bu 310) The path arises from the kindness of the noble guru for pure disciples who continually exert

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themselves for the virtuous aims of others out of their love for sentient beings.//(58)

(U 7) Bandits of an evil land will capture the jewel of one dwelling in his own forest hermitage if he gives this jewel of the good path to another, careless sentient being.//(59)

The bandits of doubt, despair, sleep, laziness, and wildness capture the jewel of the good path of one gone into the thicket of the household.//(60)

The bandits who always capture the jewel are: killing, stealing, adultery, lying, harsh words, slander, idle talk, covetousness, malice, and wrong views.//(61)

And so do the five sets of five bandits: the primary sins, the auxiliary sins, the killings, the thefts, and the graspings at the objects of the sense faculties.//(62)[7]

The numerous bandits of too much food and drink, and various pleasures, capture the jewel of one who is careless and unconscious, even though he has energy.//(63)

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[7] These twenty-five "bandits" are enumerated, with some variation, in the following sources: Śrī Kālacakra III.93-94, cited and commented on in the Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 15-16; PadminĪ 48/4/3-6; GuṇabharaṇĪ 8b/3-9b/4; sNying po snang ba'i 'od zer 298-300; TC 291/2-5; Dang po'i sangs rgyas dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang ming gi rnam grangs 269; dPag bsam yongs 'du'i snye ma 35/3-36/3.

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If one who is no judge shows a jewel to some other knave to determine whether or not it is very valuable, his words will make one give up the jewel.//(64)

Have those who know good jewels examine the great jewel. One should know one's own jewel through their pure words.//(65)

Māra creates obstacles with the forms of perfect Buddhas, bodhisattvas, fathers, mothers, daughters, sisters, sons, brothers, and desired wives.//(66)

(Bu 311) Therefore disciples, having abandoned the household of bandits, should zealously hide the jewel of the good path given by the noble guru.//(67)

The hero process is not the path of liberation, and neither is the self-blessing process. The Buddhas teach solely the very pure process for liberation.//(68)

(D 4a) The lords of Jinas grasp those who have performed the five sins of immediate retribution with the bliss that is the aim of the initiation in the tantra that consists of wisdom and method.//(69)

The hero process is not external; it is said to be the very exhaustion of the winds in the body. The self-blessing is named the vision of the three realms in the void.//(70)

Mens' fruit of Buddhahood arises from the exhaustion of spent samsara, just as the ripened fruit of the

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plantain arises from the destruction of the plantain.//(70)

(U 8) Sentient beings such as scorpions and crabs destroy that from which they arise. Likewise, the mind of yoga destroys illusion.//(72)

The sixteen realities are: nondual, unmoving, impartial, desire, supreme unchanging, great lust, not existent nor nonexistent, gnosis, sentient being, completely good,//(73)

noiseless, great noise, connate, holder of the drop of splendid bodhicitta, Śrī Kālacakravajra, and the yoga that consists of wisdom and method.//(74)

The Body of compassion and emptiness, Time possesses phenomenal form. Emptiness is called "the Wheel"; the Kālacakra is accepted as nondual.//(75)[8]

Obstacles are permanently destroyed for a yogi who always meditates on the feet of the yoginis in order to quickly obtain the splendor of Kālacakra (Bu 312).//(76)

Enemy, lion, lord of elephants, fire, master of snakes, bandits, being bound by a noose, raging ocean, ghouls causing the fear of death, disease, Indra's deputies, poverty, being without a woman, fear of an agitated king, lightning strike, and destruction of wealth

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[8] Cited at Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 8.

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- these are destroyed for one who clearly remembers the feet of the yoginis.//(77)[9]

One who is being destroyed in battle by enemies - by elephants, chariots, horses, and numerous excellent infantry, all armored and bearing spears, discuses, swords, and bows and arrows - should remember the feet of the yoginis. He will conquer all those enemies - death-givers having fierce visages, dwelling in the cardinal and intermediate directions - with his own weapons, and will gain the fame of victory.//(78)

The lion roars and his face is distorted; he bares his sharp teeth and twitches his tail. He wards off the forehead of the crazed elephant with his curved, strong claws. He is enraged and his eyes are red like the early dawn. His sword-tongue lolls about. He has a mane and desires to kill. The lion goes far away when one remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear.//(79)

The great master of elephants is blue-colored. His eyes are tawny and his temples are full of masses of rutting musk. He uproots numerous great trees and smashes them. He thunders like a dragon. He binds one with his trunk, and chops one up with the tips of his tusks (D 4b).

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[9] Cf. Śrī Kālacakra III.203.

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The body of one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear is freed from such an elephant.//(80)

(U 9) The fire that extends in all directions has flames that blaze everywhere in the cardinal and intermediate directions. Its dense smoke envelops one in great darkness. It simultaneously burns the village and the forest. It emits sparks like a falling star, and always makes sentient beings afraid of death. (Bu 313) Such a fire becomes cool for one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear.//(81)

The lord of hooded snakes is enraged; he is the color of blue eye ointment. As he moves he writhes and utters a fierce hiss. His fangs are curved and he has two tongues. He makes one afraid of death. As swift as the wind, he is very wrathful, and his eyes are cruel. He displays his hood, and strikes and bites. Such a snake is destroyed for one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear.//(82)

The bandits in the forest are malevolent; in the palms of their hands are bows and barbed arrows. Dwelling in the cardinal and intermediate directions, they hold spears, discuses, and swords. The cruel-eyed ones block the ground of the noble path, and strike and rob the moving traveller. Such bandits become distant for one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear.//(83)

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One's arms are tied with nooses, and the pair of lotus feet of one's legs are covered with iron fetters. Deprived of good water, one's tongue, throat, and lips are parched. One's body is emaciated and racked with hunger. Day and night the guards guard one on the orders of an angry ruler. Even so, one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear is freed from that bondage.//(84)

Conveyed in an ocean-going vessel, the ocean is tossed and turned about by boundless fierce winds. One is stopped by pirates - gangs of crocodiles and sharks. They fling the vicious fire-oil, and a great incessant rain of fire falls all about. Even so, one who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear passes beyond that (Bu 314).//(85)

Holding cleavers and skull cups in their hands, cruel-minded zombies dwell in the circle of the ten directions and horrify. Howling, sending forth terrifying sounds, blazing fire comes out of their mouths. Racked with hunger, they eat flesh and delight in human blood. Their bodies are emaciated and naked. One who remembers the feet of the yoginis that dispel fear is protected from such zombies.//(86)

Each day one wails, and the stubs of one's fingertips rot. One's nose, lips, and ears deteriorate. Due to the strength of the putrid stench one's relatives abandon one

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like a corpse. One who remembers the good feet of the yoginis becomes free from diseases and satisfied.//(87)

(U 10; D 5a) Indra's messengers have flaming sharp tusks and the faces of snakes, lions, sarabhas, tigers, and elephants. In all directions they hold discuses, swords, arrows, tridents, hooks, and thunderbolts. They threaten the practitioner dwelling in supreme bliss, solely absorbed in concentration on enlightenment. These messengers are destroyed for one who places the feet of the mistresses of yoga in his own mind.//(88)

In the rains one carries a load from the forest to the city on a path full of muck. In winter one travels naked on a snowy trail, and must even go to foreign lands. In the summer one is burnt by the rays of the sun on a waterless, terrible, desert path. Such a poor man is freed from those sufferings, and is satisfied, if he meditates on the good feet of the yoginis.//(89)

The excretions of one's armpits, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and body give off an unbearable stench. Unlucky all the time, one is deprived of sexual pleasure due to separation from all ladies (Bu 315). Women may always hate one as a result of nonvirtue. All such as this become handsome and lucky should they meditate on the feet of the yoginis that give the best bliss.//(90)

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Due to treachery the lord of men is furious at the servants. Like the Yama of Death, he is continually intent on murder. He quickly dispatches troops make one afraid of death. Even such an angry king becomes pacified towards those servants if they meditate in their own minds on the feet of the yoginis - the protectors of all the three worlds. And indeed, with his gifts of complete honor, the king becomes a benefactor.//(91)

For some, at times, lightning falls from the sky. And due to intercourse with women, the fall of the vajra perpetually causes them to die, to become unconscious, and to be devoid of desire, again and again, for life after life. Even that fall of the vajra becomes pacified for them, they die, and are not born again, by meditating on the splendid feet of the thunderbolt of the yoginis, that abides in the lotuses of the karma-, jñāna-, and divine mudrās.//(92)

Some lose all their wealth from indifference, because of intercourse with women day and night. That occurs many times again from the mind being anointed with propensities in other lives. All that wealth is saved by meditating on the unequal and equal feet - having the form of the universe - of the prajñās, the yoginis. They are worshipped and praised by the best of Jinas.//(93)

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The yoginis are the threefold path-passages of the sun, the moon, and Rāhu: piṅgalā, iḍā, and avadhūtī. Those two feet that go together, the destruction of existent and nonexistent, are their Gnosis Body. This one is their unchanging status of connate bliss. The result spoken of here, the dispelling of all fears, will quickly occur in this life for one who would remember just that (Bu 316).//(94)

The place of the splendid yoginis is the house of the thunderbolt gem. (U 11; D 5b) The path the Jina taught for entering that place is without passions, it destroys devils; here I express a preliminary praise. May those men who lose the path and always go in the darkness of falsehood from associating with devils obtain this path and come to the house of the thunderbolt gem without delay!//(95)

Having meditated on the state of connate bliss through the paths of smoke and so forth, one may become Kālacakra. His limbs are the thirty-two major marks. Guru of the world, he dwells in this Wheel of Dharma. His lotus feet are kissed by the masses of light rays from the crest-gems of the diadems of the gods. He shows the noble path; like the day-maker sun he destroys all darkness.//(96)

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The crowns of the lords of gods, serpents, men, and demons caress his lotus feet. He is the day-maker sun of right gnosis, and he dwells in the splendid Dharma Wheel of the three worlds. Violent slayer of beasts - the devils and passions - he is the splendid lion of the Śākyas. I write this commentary impelled by his constant love for the world, and by his wisdom.//(97)

By the letter KĀ the cause is pacified. By the letter LA there is indeed absorbtion into this. By the letter CA for the moving mind; by the letter KRA is the process due to binding.//(98)[10]

Time is the gnosis of unchanging bliss - the method consisting of compassion. The Wheel is the world in the aspect of objects of knowledge - the splendid wisdom consisting of emptiness.//(99)[11]

This Śrī Kālacakra vajrayoga that dwells throughout the two truths is the discourse. May this tantra be the speaker of this.//(100)

Prophesied by the Sugata, impelled by Mañjuśrī, I, Lokanātha, write a commentary on this tantra (Bu 317).//(101)

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[10] This verse is cited and commented on at Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 8.

[11] See the note to verse 2 above.

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I write this commentary that discloses the secrets of tantra for the childish, learned fools. I write as a mother benefiting her sons, for the sake of bliss for all embodied beings.(102)

Since yogis know the noble path of Vajrasattva from this, may this commentary Vimalaprabhā be quickly written.//(103)

The First Great Brief Account, Which Destroys All Devils and Obstructors: The Precept on the Supreme Chosen Deity and the Noble Path. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.

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The Second Brief Account: The Bhagavān's Teaching of the Tantra, Having Observed the Subject, the Discourse, their Relation, the Purpose, and the Ultimate Purpose

(U 12) Here, first I will discuss the subject, the discourse, their relation, etc., and the prophecy of the Abridged Tantra, etc., following the Basic Tantra. Later I will also discuss the purpose, the ultimate purpose, and so forth, in the Abridged Tantra.

[The former:] Here, first (the Bhagavān) observed the subject, the discourse, their relation, the purpose, and the ultimate purpose (of the tantra). It gives the result of Buddhahood in this life to people to be trained who are without precept, by means of the disposition of their own minds.

(D6a) He sat in the abode of great bliss - the Paramādibuddha, the great mandala of the sphere of vajra- on the vajra lion throne.

He was encircled by a host of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, fury kings, gods, nagas, and male and female deities. The three realms saluted his lotus-feet. He is the sole cakravartin of the three realms, the Paramādibuddha without partiality. He is the Bhagavān Śrī Kālacakra.

Sucandra requested him for instruction, and he taught the twelve thousand verse Paramādibuddha (Bu 318). The

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Paramādibuddha is the King of Tantra Kālacakra, without partiality. It is embraced by the Nāmasaṃgīti that makes evident the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara. The Paramādibuddha makes evident the vajra words in all tantras. It opens the jewel box of the Buddhas. It is based on worldly and transcendental truth.

It is completely purified by the four perfect enlightenments and the four vajras. It speaks of the subject that consists of the four Bodies, the six families, the twelve truths, the sixteen realities, the sixteen emptinesses, and the sixteen compassions. It elucidates the ten worldly initiations and the eleventh transcendental initiation. It elucidates the karmamudrā, the jñānamudrā, the mahāmudrā, and their worldly and transcendental siddhis. It consists of five chapters or five investigations:[1] Cosmos, Soul, Initiation, Practice, and Gnosis. It is rightly taught so that all sentient beings, humans and so forth, may obtain true, perfect Buddhahood.

(In the Paramādibuddha) the Tathāgata prophesied that Mañjuśrī would redact the Abridged Tantra from that (Parāmadibuddha); that in the future I (Puṇḍarīka) would

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[1] [They are called "investigations" because sentient beings investigate the nonconceptual gnosis of the Bhagavān as they themselves are inclined.]

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compose a commentary in order to train the brahman sages; that others, Yamāntaka and so forth, would teach the tantra; and that all the sentient beings dwelling the nine hundred and sixty million villages in the lands of Sambhala and so forth would obtain the noble path.[2]

(Bu 319) Here, the conglomeration of particles precedes the cosmos [the basis of birth and death]. The cosmos precedes sentient beings [the based]. Sentient beings precede the worldly and transcendental initiations [that make sentient beings suitable vessels for the mahāmudrā siddhi]. Initiation precedes accomplishing the worldly siddhis; the worldly siddhis are accomplished at the limit of the realm of Akaniṣṭha through conditioning oneself to meditation on the mandala circle of the collection of merits. The worldly siddhis precede accomplishing the mahāmudrā gnosis siddhi. The mahāmudrā gnosis siddhi is beyond the conglomeration of particles, and is separate from the conceptual meditations on the mandala and so forth. It is accomplished through the collections of merit and gnosis, (D 6b) and through the force of the propensities [of conditioning oneself to]

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[2] The preceding material is a kind of preface that is commented on later in this brief account.

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phenomenal emptiness and non-objectifying compassion in previous lives.[3]

Therefore, the investigation of the cosmos is first; then the investigation of the soul; then the investigation of initiation; then the investigation of the accomplishment of the worldly siddhis; then the investigation of the accomplishment of the supreme unchanging gnosis. Thus, in such an order, the King of Tantra consists of five investigations, or five chapters.

Here, the vajrayoga that consists of wisdom and method - the Ādibuddha who is without partiality, Bhagavān Kālacakra - is the subject. Also, it consists of these natural topics of the five chapters:[4]

First, in "The Chapter on the Cosmos":

(1) "Omniscient One," etc., (in verse 1 presents) the natural topic of the Teacher.

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[3] [The aim of the fifth chapter is the mahāmudrā siddhi that exhausts birth and death, because the worldly siddhis do not exhaust birth and death.]

[4] [These natural topics are taught here in accordance with the Basic Tantra. However, the Abridged Tantra has similar characteristics, so I (Bu ston) have arranged my annotations here as they apply to the Abridged Tantra.]

The term I have glossed as "natural topic" (svabhāvatayāvasthita; ngo bo nyid kyis gnas pa) literally means "(a thing) abiding by its own nature." mKhas grub's correlation of the verses of the Abridged Tantra with these natural topics differs significantly from that of Bu ston given in the annotations below; cf. TC 335-352.

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(2) [Sengge'i khri, etc., presents] the natural topic that specifies the place (Bu 320).

(3) [Lha mchog, etc., presents] the natural topic of the excellence of the great entourage.

(4) [rGyal po, etc., presents] the natural topic of the requestor.

(5) [rNal 'byor dpal ldan, etc., presents] the natural topic of asking about the vajrayoga - the subject, the discourse [the excellent Dharma], the ultimate purpose [mi rnams, etc.], and so on.

(6) (U 13) [Verse 2, stong pa ye shes, etc., presents] the natural topic of requesting the five syllable great void, etc., [the six syllable drop void], the origination of the universe [the families, the family members, nature, the soul, the measurements of the universe in the body, the arrangement of the three existences, and the experiences of gods and so forth], and the mandalas and initiations.

(7) [Verse 3, zla ba bzang po, etc., presents] the natural topic of the Teacher's reply.

(8) [Verse 4, dus kyis, etc., presents] the natural topic that summarizes the origination of the cosmos, mantras, planets; [verse 6, g.yon gyi yan lag, etc., also presents the origination of Rahu and so forth; verse 8, a sogs, etc., presents the increase and decrease of the moon and

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sun,] asterisms, sentient beings [gods, men, and hooded snakes], and prāṇa [srog] and so forth.

(9) [Verse 10, rlung gi, etc., presents] the natural topic of the mandalas of wind, etc., [verse 11, rlung gi, etc., presents] the number of the oceans, continents, and mountains.

(10) [Verse 14, dang por chos bzang, etc., presents] the natural topic of the thirty-one existences.

(11) [Verse 22, lhun po'i, etc., presents] the natural topic of the great cakravartin.

(12) [Verse 24, phra dbugs, etc., presents] the natural topic of the measurements of the day, etc., by means of the very subtle breath, etc.

(13) [Verse 26, lo 'di, etc., presents] the natural topic of the prophecy of Mañjuśrī.

(Bu 321) (14) [Verse 27, me mkha', etc., presents] the natural topic of the siddhānta and karaṇa astronomical calculations.

(15) [Verse 64, stong phrag nyi shu rtsa gcig, etc., presents] the natural topic of the birth of the motions of the planets and the motions of the asterisms from the breaths of the middle channel.

(16) [Verse 52, tha skar la sogs, etc., presents] the natural topic of the terrestrial sphere by means of the aspects of the twelve houses.

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(17) [Verse 95, a sogs, etc., presents] the natural topic of the svarodaya, and so forth.

(18) [Verse 119, nyi ma, etc., presents] the natural topic of the places of power of Rāhu and so forth.

(19) [Verse 128, g.yul du, etc., presents] the natural topic of machines that breech and defend forts.

(20) [Verse 150, chang dang, etc., presents] the natural topic of the cakravartin's tour around the twelve sections of the earth.

(21) [Verse 161, g.yul du, etc., presents] the natural topic of eradicating the barbarian dharma and establishing the Buddhadharma.

(22) [The last two quarters of verse 164, de yi dus su 'dzin ma dag la, etc., presents] the natural topic of giving the path of the worldly and transcendental siddhis to all sentient beings.

(23) [The last half of verse 165, lha dang mi yi bla ma'i, etc., presents] the natural topic of the teachers Mañjuśrī and Lokeśvara after [behind] and before [in front].

(24) [Verse 168, tshangs pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the best lifespan of humans at the end of the Kalkīs - the great cakravartin, and so forth.

[The twenty-four outer and inner objects, and the twenty-four topics of the purified twelve houses and twelve

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factors of dependent origination] are in "The Chapter on the Cosmos."

Then, in "The Chapter on the Soul," [a dialogue containing various topics regarding the body and so forth]:

(1) First, [verse 4, sa bon, etc., presents] the natural topic summarizing impregnation.

(2) [Verse 6, gsang ba'i, etc., presents] the natural topic of the union of menses, semen, ālayavijñāna, and gnosis[5] (D 7a; Bu 322).

(3) [Verse 7, nya la, etc., presents] the natural topic of origination in the womb according to each individual month.

(4) [Verse 6 presents] the natural topic of the ten states - fish and so forth.

(5) [Verse 12, mngal du, etc., presents] the natural topic of the purity of the four Bodies and the four vajras.

(6) [Verse 8, khu ba, etc., presents] the natural topic of origination in the womb by means of the four perfect enlightenments.

(7) [Verse 24, thur sel, etc., presents] the natural topic of the twenty-one thousand, six hundred breaths; [verse 25, gtsug tor, etc.,] the three hundred and sixty regions

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[5] [Some Indian manuscripts have "gnosis".] N & D include; B & Bu omit.

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of the joints; [verse 18, sa yi, etc.,] the six elements; [verse 19, phung po'i, etc.,] the six tastes; [verse 20, stong pa, etc.,] the six sense faculties; [verse 20, dri, etc.,] the six objects; [verse 23, ngag, etc.,] the six action faculties, the six consciousnesses, the six constructions, the six feelings, the six perceptions; [verse 22, rna ba, etc.,] the six forms, the six gnoses, the six cakras, and the six upper and lower mandalas.

(8) [Verse 38 presents] the natural topic of the flowing of the left and right mandalas - the five aggregates and five elements - within the petals and pairs of nostrils of the navel and other lotuses.

(9) [Verse 51, dus kyi lo, etc., presents] the natural topic of the issuing forth of all tantras within the middle channel.

(10) [Verse 43 presents] the natural topic of the functions of the winds - prāṇa and so forth.

(11) [Verse 29, lus la bsam pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the origination of the deities' emblems from the elements.

(12) [Verse 60, drug gi rtsa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the ill omens of sun, moon, and fire.

(13) [Verse 82, skye ba, etc., presents] the natural topic of birth in the six destinies due to the ripening of karma.

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(Bu 323) (14) [Verse 67, phyogs dang, etc., presents] the natural topic of the divisions nāḍikā, etc. - the motions of the planets.

(15) [Verse 107, dang por, etc., presents] the natural topic of cheating ill-omened death by means of joy, etc., inserted into the middle channel.[6]

(16) [Verse 125, gser la, etc., presents] the natural topic of accomplishing external, worldly affairs.

(17) [Verse 161, bdag med, etc., presents] the natural topic of examining all views through inference.

(18) [Verse 177, zhes pa la sogs, etc., presents] the natural topic of establishing the Dharma in accordance with the beliefs of the various sentient beings.

[These eighteen natural topics: the purified six inner treasuries of the body, the six channels, and six cakras,] are in "The Chapter on the Soul."

Then, in "The Chapter on Initiation":

[Verse 1 presents the question and the reply.]

(1) First, [verse 2, dang por yang dag bsten bya, etc., presents] the natural topic of the examination of the guru.

(2) [Verse 4, zab cing, etc., presents] the natural topic

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[6] MSS add evaṃ at the beginning of this clause.

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of examining and taking hold of the best, middling, and poorest disciples.

(3) [Verse 5, nag po'i, etc., presents] the natural topic of the location of the village, etc., and [verse 7, sa yi, etc., presents] the characteristics of the site, etc., in order to achieve free scope for action.

(4) (Then comes) the natural topic of the characteristics of: [verse 10] the hearth; [verse 14, 'o ma, etc.,] the materials for the fire-offering; [verse 20, shel dang, etc.,] the rosary; [verse 18, zhi dang, etc., and verse 16, gshin rje, etc.,] the seat; [verse 12, yang na, etc.,] the stakes; [verse 12, de bzhin, etc.,] the vases; [verse 16, tshon ni, etc.,] the powders; [verse 19] the chalk line; and [verse 21] the arrangement of the diagram.

(5) (U 14) [Verse 23, dpal ldan, etc., presents] the natural topic of taking possession of the site, [verse 36, thig ni, etc.,] drawing the mandala, and comprehending the ten realities.

(6) [Verse 84, rin chen, etc., presents] the natural topic of giving the worldly and transcendental initiations.

(D 7b; Bu 324) (7) [Verse 104, klu dang, etc., presents] the natural topic of the samadhi that consecrates everything.

(8) [Verse 127, shes rab yum ni, etc., presents] the

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natural topic of worshipping the fair and the pledge in the pledge-circle.

(9) [Verse 170, mthe bo, etc., presents] the natural topic of the gestures, gazes, pledge-symbols, classes, and so forth of the goddesses of the thirty-six families.

(10) [Verse 201, dbang gi, etc., presents] the natural topic of dismissing the mandala circle.

(11) [Verse 202, 'jig rten pa rnams, etc., presents] the natural topic of dismissing the powders to a great river, etc., and the host-circle to their individual homes, and, having done so, worshipping them.

(12) [Verse 198, drug cha, etc., presents] the natural topic of pleasing the splendid guru with all gifts.

[By dividing the exalted initiation into two there are twelve. These twelve pure topics] are in "The Chapter on Initiation."

Then, in "The Chapter on Practice":

[Verse 1 presents the question and the reply; verse 2, dus kyi, etc., presents the fabrication of an image of the Bhagavān; and verse 3 presents the place for practice.]

(1) First, [verse 3 also presents] the natural topic of the protection circle, etc.; [verse 4, dang por, etc.,] the purity of the faces, and the emission of the Tathāgatas by means of the light-rays of the seed on the moon at one's heart.

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(2) [Verse 4, mchod pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the unsurpassed worship, confession of sins, rejoicing in merit, going for the three refuges, offering oneself, generating bodhicitta, resorting to the path, objectifying emptiness, and so forth.

(3) [Verse 8, stong pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the practices in the generation process such as: the foremost royal mandala; [verse 50, ho yig, etc.,] the foremost royal action; [verse 110, gtum mo, etc.,] the drop yoga; the subtle yoga; and so forth.

(Bu 325) (4) [Verse 134, khro bo'i, etc., presents] the natural topic of the practices for external, worldly siddhi.

(5) [Verse 201, ba glang, etc., presents] the natural topic of practices such as: sacrifice and so forth; [verse 203] Vedanta - the secret gnosis of reality; and the six factor yoga, etc.

(6) [Verse 204, sbyor ba med pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of the collection of merits - giving and so forth.

(7) [Verse 232, lha yi, etc., presents] the natural topic of conditioning the perceptible and imperceptible minds.

[The seven topics that achieve the purification of the pair of seven outer and seven inner things, or the seven inner births]

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are in "The Chapter on Practice."

Then, in "The Chapter on Gnosis":

[Verse 1 presents the question and the reply.]

(1) First, [verse 2, ka ba, etc., presents] the natural topic of the mandala of the purity of the elements - the body's bones and so forth.

(2) [Verse 4, de ltar, etc., presents] the natural topic of the deities of Body, Speech, and Mind; and the six families.

(3) [Verse 5, sde pa, etc., presents] the natural topic of A, etc., and KA, etc. - the six mantra families.

(4) [Verse 8, ka sogs, etc., presents] the natural topic of the thirty-six wisdom and method tantras.

(5) [Verse 13, dag par, etc., presents] the natural topic of the emission of method; [verse 18, phyogs kyi, etc.,] wisdom; [verse 22, 'di la, etc.,] kriyā; [verse 23, snying por, etc.,] yogānuviddha; [verse 25, thig ni, etc.,] mahāsaṃvara and the six cakravartins.

(6) [Verse 70, gang phyir, etc., presents] the natural topic of the Fourth initiation - the practice of the supreme, unchanging mahāmudrā gnosis siddhi.

(7) [Verse 89, shes rab ma, etc., presents] the natural topic of the emission of the gnosis mandala.

(8) [Verse 66, sems can rnams, etc., presents] the natural topic of the practice of serving bodhicitta.

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(Bu 326) (9) [Verse 112, gang zhig shes rab, etc., presents] the natural topic of the mahāmudrā siddhi that consists of all aspects of knowledge and objects of knowledge.

(10) [Verse 128, ḷ sogs, etc., presents] the natural topic of the examination of all the functions of body, speech, and mind.

(D 8a) (11) [Verse 92, phung po, etc., presents] the natural topic of teaching the eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma.

(12) [Verse 165, sa las, etc., presents] the natural topic of the contraction of the Buddha field.

(13) [Verse 166, sangs rgyas zhing ni, etc., presents] the natural topic of coursing in the space element together with bodhisattvas, great beings, as numerous as the particles of Sumeru.

(14) [Verse 167, yang dag 'dzin, etc., presents] the natural topic of the origination of the Buddha field.

(15) [Verse 169, mtha' dag, etc., presents] the natural topic of blessing the Buddha field as vajra.

(16) [Verse 193, 'di rnams, etc., presents] the natural topic of teaching the Dharma in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings who have various inclinations.

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(17) [Verse 201, bsreg byas, etc., presents] the natural topic of the essence, alchemy, and so forth - the practices for the bodily siddhis.

(18) [Verse 232, dang por, etc., presents] the natural topic of fulfilling the aims of all sentient beings by means of the supreme unchanging bliss.

(19) [Verse 238, ye shes, etc., presents] the natural topic of the compendium of Dharma, and [verse 241, zla ba'i, etc.,] the compendium of mathematical terms.

(20) [Verse 244, gang la, etc., presents] the natural topic of praising the five syllable great void and [verse 248, gcig dang, etc.,] the six syllable drop void.

[These twenty topics that symbolize the enlightenment in twenty aspects of the basis, path, and result] are in "The Chapter on Gnosis." [Thus, there is one Body to be adorned, and eighty good minor marks that adorn it; there are eighty-one pure topics (don bsdus).]

(U 15) Thus, since it is taught in this order, Bhagavān Kālacakra [the basis, path, and result] (Bu 327), the natural topic of the five chapters, is the subject here.[7] The collection of chapters that demonstrates this, the King of Tantra, is the discourse.

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[7] The remainder of this brief account is commentary on the preface appearing at its beginning.

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The speech is Bhagavān Kālacakra, the natural topic [that is the subject] of the five chapters. The speaker is the Kālacakra discourse that consists of five chapters. Also, the characteristic of speech and speaker: "the Bhagavān Ādibuddha is the speech; the speaker is the Ādibuddha discourse" - is the subject-discourse relation.

Then, the purpose is to fulfill the aim of the collection merit. This is done by entering the mandala [commencing with going for refuge and generating bodhicitta], and by (the guru) giving the worldly initiations. [And by (the disciple) conditioning himself to the generation process path once he has been introduced to it.]

The ultimate purpose is to fulfill the aim of the collections of merit and gnosis in order to obtain the mahāmudrā siddhi that is without partiality. This is done by (the guru) giving the great wisdom, the transcendental Fourth initiation [and by (the disciple) conditioning himself to the completion process path].

Observing these characteristics of the subject and so forth, it says, "to the people to be trained who are without precept, by means of the disposition of their own minds." Precept is the śrāvaka's highest vow - the ethical vow to forsake enjoyment of the five objects of

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desire.[8] Those who are without that are without precept. The disposition of their minds is craving to enjoy the five objects of desire. Likewise, craving for the great bliss of (the union of) the two sexual organs is the disposition of the minds of those without precept (D 8b; Bu 328).

Regarding, "It gives the result of Buddhahood in this life by means of this disposition of their minds": The King of Tantra gives the result of Buddhahood in this life, in a human life. But it does not give it in lives in the five destinies of the gods and so forth. Why? Because they are not born in the land of karma.

Here, it is the precept of the Bhagavān that, "Once they have obtained a human life, it will give the result of Buddhahood to the gods and so forth, too." [Even within human lives] (it refers to Buddhahood being obtained) "by a person who is a great soul, who consists of the collections of merit and gnosis, and the six elements." However, it is the precept of the Tathāgata that, "It will not give the result of Buddhahood in the

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[8] [Since "highest" (koṭi; mchog) is the same term as "ten million" (koṭi; bye ba), there is the monk's training—the vows that guard ten million points; the novice's that guard ten points; and the lay-follower's that guard five points.]

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other case, in this human life of a person having evil karma."

You may say, "But the Bhagavān Buddha says such as this in this Mantrayāna:

> 'Outcastes, flutemakers, and so on, and those who commit the five sins of immediate retribution, may become Buddhas in this very life by performing the mantra conduct.'"//[9]

The Bhagavān's statement is true. It is the belief of the Tathāgata that, "One who has previously in this life created fierce karmas, such as the five sins of immediate retribution and so forth, may destroy them with the samadhi of mahāmudrā unchanging bliss [once he has entered] this Mantrayāna (Bu 329). And so that other

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[9] [The Sandhivyākaraṇa-nāma-tantra says:
"The low castes shall understand quickly; it is easy for flutemakers. Those who commit the sins of immediate retribution are second; they think to strive at killing.//
"Sentient beings who created great sin, as well as those who commit the sins of immediate retribution, should practice in this supreme vehicle of the unsurpassed Mahāyāna.//
"But those who slander the ācārya will not achieve results even though they practice./"]

The passage Bu ston cites is Sandhivyākaraṇa 5.6b ff. (Peking #83; vol. 3, 238/3/3-4). It is basically a rephrasing of Guhyasamāja 5.2-4: pāda d in the first verse is Guhyasamāja 5.2b; the second verse is Guhyasamāja 5.3ab & 5.2cd; the last line is Guhyasamāja 5.4ab. In the verse given in the Vimalaprabhā, pāda a is identical to Guhyasamāja 5.2a. (It is interesting to note that Guhyasamāja 5.2ab is virtually identical to Hevajra II.iv.76ab.) Cf. also Hevajra II.ii.13-14.

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uninvited[10] non-virtues will not enter [later], insert the crossbars of love, compassion, joy, equanimity, and so forth, and the phenomena on the side of enlightenment, into the entrance doors of the four devils and the obstructor-foes in the house of the vajra source of phenomena.[11] Then, having accomplished Vajrasattva together with Mahāmudrā there, even those who [previously] committed the five sins of immediate retribution will obtain the result of Buddhahood in this life."

However, it is not the true belief of the Tathāgata that, "Even those who create fierce karma such as the five sins of immediate retribution and so forth after having entered the Mantrayāna will obtain the result of Buddhahood in this life." [The reason for this is,] here, the Bhagavān's statements in all three vehicles are, "virtuous in the beginning, virtuous in the middle, and

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[10] "Uninvited" (āgantuka; glo bur ba) is a pun; it could also be translated as "adventitious."

[11] ["Love, compassion, joy, and equanimity" are the four liberations and the four cakras. "The phenomena on the side of enlightenment" are the thirty-seven seed-syllables of the gods in the mandala; the thirty-seven bases of purification - the aggregates and so forth; and the results - the thirty-seven families, and so forth.] For the four "devils" (māra; bdud), see Wayman (1959:112-125).

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virtuous in the end."[12] From this statement of the Bhagavān we know that it is not the precept of the Tathāgata that, "Even those who create sinful karma after having entered the Mantrayāna will obtain the result of Buddhahood in this life."

(U 16) You might say: "Well now, the Bhagavān says that the yogis eat meat in this Mantrayāna. And that always occurs due to killing; some beings are destroyed due to killing. If there was no eater, there would also be no killer.[13] And here it is the Tathāgata's precept that, 'Each day the mantra adept should perform the fourth pledge.'"

(D 9a; Bu 330) That is true. For the very reason that (eating meat) that is marked and conjoined with unspeakable sin is killing, the Bhagavān says that yogis should eat beef, dog, and so forth that are without marks and unspeakable sin.

Here, the Tathāgata says that yogis should eat all those (meats) - beef, dog, and so forth - that the worldly

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[12] ["Virtuous in the beginning" is the wisdom that arises from hearing, or the pratimokṣa vows and so forth. "Virtuous in the middle" is the wisdom that arises from contemplation, or concentration and so forth. "Virtuous in the end" is the wisdom that arises from meditation, or undefiled virtue and so forth.] Cf. NS 11c.

[13] Cf. Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā, Peking #5255; vol. 96, 18/5/1 ff.

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people of the particular country do not eat or sell: (meat of those who) died due to their own karma, who were killed in battle due to evil karma or due to their own fault, or that of robbers and so forth (who were executed). (These meats) are not bought with money, and they are not killed for the rites of ancestor worship, etc., and sacrifice, etc. The Tathāgata did not say, "Eat meat that is marked."

Also, that fourth pledge that is to be performed each day should be performed with the five - beef, dog, and so forth - that are without unspeakable sin, and with the five - vairocana and so forth, in pills the size of mustard seeds in order to serve the pledge each day.[14] The conscious [careful] Dharma always speaks of liquor and

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[14] "Beef, dog, and so forth" (gokvādi; go ku la sogs pa) are the five meats: beef (go; ba glang); dog (ku, i.e., *kukkura; khyi); elephant (da, i.e., *dantin; glang po che); horse (ha, i.e., *haya; rta); and human (na, i.e., *nara; mi). "Vairocana and so forth" are the five "ambrosias" (amṛta; bdud rtsi): vairocana, i.e., feces (vi, i.e., viṣ; dri chen); ratnasambhava, i.e, blood (ra, i.e., *rakta; khrag); amitabha, i.e., semen (śu, i.e., *śukra; khu ba); amoghasiddhi, i.e., flesh (or marrow?) (mā, i.e., *māṃsa; sha, or ma, i.e *majjā; rkang mar); and akṣobhya, i.e., urine (mu [or mū?], i.e., *mūtram; dri chu). These substances play an important role in the "inner offering" practice in the yogini tantras. (Cf. also Guhyasamāja 6.21-23; 12.41-43; 15.40-44; 15.77-78; etc.) The lists given above are constructed from the following sources: Guṇabharaṇī 12b/4 ff.; Snellgrove (1959:I.86 [n. 2]); Wayman (1977:290-291). However, the Vimalaprabhā's comment on Śrī Kālacakra IV.127 should be checked; cf. Grönbold (1969:83 [n. 37]).

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women without unspeakable sin for the sake of meditation [on the nonconceptual completion process].

Likewise, the Bhagavān says this in the Basic Tantra:

Sinners who are difficult to tame kill an innocent sentient being for a god, due to their own fear, for the ancestors, to fulfill a desire, or for sale.//(1)

Buying, eating, and desiring the meat of that is conjoined with unspeakable sin. But that which falls in the bowl unasked-for is without unspeakable sin.//(2)

It is best that the meat of a single living being be eaten by many; a single man should not eat the meat of many living beings.//(3)

Having generated compassion, one engaged in yoga should eat in reality, with a nonconceptual mind (Bu 331). That is free of unspeakable sin, but not otherwise.//(4)

The possessor of the vajra who sees reality always teaches food, drink, and outcaste sexual intercourse in order to destroy attachment to family.//(5)[15]

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[15] [(Annotations:) "Sinners" are the agents. The "innocent sentient being" is the one to be killed. "Their own fear" refers to the meat of one killed in order to guard against human fear. (Verse 2:) "The meat of that" is the thing. (Verse 4) presents how the practice should be performed. (Verse 5) presents the purpose of such eating. "Food" is the five meats and so forth. "Drink" is liquor and so forth. "Outcaste sexual intercourse" is

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The King of Tantra gives the result of Buddhahood in such a fashion to those without precept [if they properly practice eating and so forth]. Buddhahood is omniscience, knowledge of all aspects, knowledge of the path, and the state of being endowed with the qualities of the ten powers, the confidences, and so forth. The one that gives that gives the result of Buddhahood.

[The abode is] "in the abode of great bliss." [This has a provisional meaning and a definitive meaning.] The abode of great bliss is the sphere of phenomena. It is beyond worldly examples, is Samantabhadra, the abode of great bliss.

"In the Paramādibuddha - the great mandala of the sphere of vajra" means in that great mandala of the sphere of vajra that is without partiality. It is the unified mixture[16] of knowledge and objects of knowledge; indivisible and undivided. It has the characteristic of the sphere of all aspects. It is similar to a mirror prognostic.[17]

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with one's mother and so forth.]

[16] ekalolībhūta; gcig tu 'dres par gyur pa. Not in Sanskrit lexicons; cf. Newman (1988).

[17] ādarśapratisenā; me long gi pra phab pa. Not in Sanskrit lexicons; cf. Newman (1988).

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Regarding 'the one sitting on the vajra lion throne': The vajra lion throne is the mandalas of moon, sun, and fire, indivisible and undivided. Or else the letter E- the space element - is the vajra lion throne (D9b). The one sitting on that is the one sitting on the vajra lion throne - the letter VAṂ that consists of Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis. (U 17) That one sitting on the vajra lion throne (taught the tantra).

[The entourage:] Regarding, "He was encircled by a host of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, fury kings, gods, nagas, and male and female deities": The Buddhas are Akṣobhya and so forth. The bodhisattvas are Samantabhadra and so forth. The gods are Īśvara and so forth. The nagas are Ananta and so forth. The female deities are: Vajradhātvīśvarī, etc.; Dharmadhātu, etc.; Atinīlā, etc.; Carikā, etc.; Gaurī, etc.; and Śvānāsyā, etc.[18] Their assemblage is the host. The one encircled by that is the one encircled by a host of male and female deities. The one encircled by a host of male and female deities (taught the tantra).

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[18] Abhayākaragupta describes the Kālacakra mandala in detail in his Niṣpannayogāvalī 83-93; an English synopsis of this is given in Bhattacharyya, B (1949:76-86). Abhayākaragupta also describes the Kālacakra mandala, in less detail, in his Vajrāvalī 89-91.

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[The disciples:] Regarding, "The three realms saluted his lotus-feet": The three realms are the desire, form and formless realms. The one whose lotus-feet were saluted by them is the one whose lotus-feet were saluted by the three realms. The one whose lotus-feet were saluted by the three realms (taught the tantra).

[The Activity:] Regarding, "he is the cakravartin of the three realms": The one who turns the Wheel of Dharma in the three realms simultaneously is the cakravartin of the three realms. The cakravartin of the three realms (taught the tantra).

[The Teacher:] Regarding, "the Paramādibuddha": The Paramādibuddha is the unchanging bliss that is characterized by perfect enlightenment in a single instant, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by the net of illusion; it is supreme (paramaḥ; mchog). The one who first (ādi; dang por) obtained Buddhahood by that (bliss) is the Paramādibuddha. The Paramādibuddha (taught the tantra) (Bu 333).

Regarding, "without partiality": Partiality is the Dharma that consists of wisdom and method - that is characterized by object and subject. One who has abandoned that partiality is without partiality. The one without partiality (taught the tantra).

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Regarding, "Bhagavān Kālacakra": Bhagavān is conquest (bhaga; bcom pa) due to conquering (bhañjana; bcom pa) devils and passions. The assemblage of the qualities of the Omniscient One, sovereignty and so forth, is fortune (bhaga; bcom pa). He is the Bhagavān because he possesses that.[19]

Time (kāla; dus) has the characteristic of supreme unchanging bliss. One whose body is generated as a wheel (cakra; 'khor lo) of unobscured aggregates, elements, and so forth by means of that (bliss) is Kālacakra.[20]

Furthermore, (Kālacakra can be explained) by each individual syllable:

> By the letter KĀ the cause is pacified. By the letter LA there is indeed absorbtion into this. By the letter CA for the moving mind; by the letter KRA is the process due to binding.//(Vimalaprabhā I.1.98)

The process is the flowing of the drops of body and so forth. The one who has bound that with the connate bliss is Kālacakra. The Bhagavān Kālacakra (taught the tantra).

Regarding, "requested by Sucandra": Because he is both auspicious and the moon, he is Sucandra - the one who

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[19] This etymology of bhagavān combines √bhaj and √bhañj; cf. Whitney (1885:108). See also Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 3; (T) 106/2/6-106/3/1, and Hevajra I.v.15.

[20] Cf. Vimalaprabhā I.1.99.

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listens to all the Tathāgatas, the stainless light of the vajra moon (NS 109b).[21]

The Master of the Secret is the one who listens to all the Tathāgatas because he compiles the Dharmas the Tathāgatas expound in the different languages of all sentient beings (D 10a). The secret (guhyam; gsang ba) is the Vajrayāna that is superior to the vehicles of the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas. Because he is the redactor of that he is the master (adhipati; bdag po) - the Master of the Secret (guhyādhipati; gsang ba'i bdag po).[22]

Furthermore, externally, in accordance with worldly, phenomenal (truth), the word 'secret' indicates goblins (yakṣaḥ; gnod sbyin) (Bu 334). Their master is the Master of Goblins (guhyakādhipati; gsang ba'i bdag po).[23]

Regarding dwelling in Aḍakavatī:[24] Externally the word corpse (aḍaka; ro) indicates the assemblage of those

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[21] Cf. Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 1.

[22] Cf. NS 16ab & 19cd.

[23] Cf. NS 22b; MW 360; Apte 667.

[24] Aḍakavatī, or Alakā, located on Mount Kailāsa, is the capital of Kubera - the god of wealth, master of the North, and lord of the Yakṣas: cf. MW 11 & 94; Apte 232; BHSD 8 & 67; Kirfel (1920:59). Mhvy 4137 has the standard Tibetan translation lcang lo can, which means "(the place) having willow leaves." Nevertheless, Puṇḍarīka specifies the meaning "corpse" for aḍaka (Tib. ro), and thus Aḍakavatī means "(the place) having corpses" (ro ldan). So also Nāro in the Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 1. This usage is unattested in the lexicons I have used.

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whose prāṇa is destroyed - the dead. Because it has that, it is Aḍakavatī - the place of the charnel ground. The great goblins there harass sentient being and create many obstructions for them. The one who slays those (goblins) is the one dwelling in Aḍakavatī. As (the lion is) master of the beasts in the forest, the one dwelling in Aḍakavatī is the Master of Great Goblins.[25]

Internally, "corpse" (aḍaka; ro) is the cessation of the twenty-one thousand, six hundred exhalations and inhalations, less thirty-six hundred. The one that has that is the Cloud of Dharma stage (the tenth bodhisattva stage). The one dwelling there is the one dwelling in Aḍakavatī.

The slayer of the devils, the passions, and the goblins that obscure objects of knowledge and absorptions is the Master of Goblins. He promotes the Dharma the Tathāgata taught by means of the roar of the Dharma Lion and the individual utterances of all sentient beings. The one King Sucandra - the Emanation Body of Vajrapāṇi- requested for instruction (taught the tantra).[26]

(U 18) Regarding, "twelve thousand verse": It is an assemblage of three hundred and eighty-four thousand

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[25] mahāyakṣādhipati; gnod sbyin chen po rnams kyi bdag po. Cf. MW 838; Apte 1297.

[26] Cf. Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 1-2.

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syllables. It consists of twelve thousand verses in anuṣṭubh. ["Anuṣṭubh" is the name of a metre] that consists of thirty-two syllables [because each quarter has eight syllables]. (Thus, the Paramādibuddha has) twelve thousand verses.

[Should you wonder why is called the] "Paramādibuddha," it is because it expresses the subject- the Paramādibuddha. Since it is the natural topic of the discourse on this subject, it is the Paramādibuddha.

Regarding Kālacakra: Since it expresses the subject - Kālacakra, it is the Kālacakra discourse.

It is "without partiality" because it expresses the subject that is without partiality.[27] Here, partiality (anvaya; rigs) is the side of wisdom and the side of method. The Jina says the tantra that is without that partiality because it has abandoned side is nondual (Bu 335): "It is the yogatantra that is without partiality, that consists of wisdom and method."[28]

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[27] "without partiality": niranvaya; rigs med. TC also glosses this as ris med; cf. Davidson (1981:30 [n. 95]), NS 100b.

[28] This passage and the following discussion are sources for the debate as to whether or not the Kālacakra constitutes a third, nondual (advaya; gnyis med) category within the anuttarayoga class of tantras. Compare Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 44-45 with Wayman (1968a:258, 260).

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If this King of Tantra whose subject consists of wisdom and method had different sides of wisdom and method, the subject that consists of wisdom and method would be nonexistent. If the subject that consists of wisdom and method was nonexistent, the nondual gnosis would be nonexistent. If the nondual gnosis was nonexistent, Buddhahood would be nonexistent as well. If Buddhahood was nonexistent, there would be samsara.

Here, without the relation of discourse and subject, the nondual that consists of wisdom and method [the speech] and yoga [the speaker] would not have the characteristic of speech and speaker in the yogatantra named method (D 10b).

And it is not the case that the word yoga speaks the meaning of method or speaks the meaning of wisdom - the word yoga speaks the meaning of wisdom and method. Furthermore, it is said [in the Ādibuddha]:

> "Yoga cannot occur due to the body of method, or by wisdom alone. The Tathāgatas call the absorbtion of wisdom and method yoga."//[29]

Thus, a tantra whose subject consists of wisdom and method is ultimately neither a wisdom tantra nor a method tantra. From the point of view of worldly, phenomenal

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[29] Cf. Guhyasamāja 18.33.

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(truth), the Tathāgata spoke [with intention] of the side of wisdom and method, in accordance with the dispositions of dull sentient beings. He did this from the point of view of the purity of the aggregates and elements, by means of the divisions mirror-like gnosis and so forth (Bu 336). The same is also true for the one named yogini.

Here, because it has a yoge[30] disposition, it is yogi, and likewise for yogini.[31] Thus, from consideration of others, there is yogatantra and yoginitantra.[32]

Therefore, from the point of view of ultimate truth, Kālacakra is the yogatantra that consists of wisdom and method - without partiality.

"It is embraced by the Nāmasaṃgīti that makes evident the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara" because it is the discourse in the Ādibuddha. Here, just as past, present, and future Tathāgatas spoke, are speaking, and will speak the Nāmasaṃgīti, just so is the Ādibuddha. The word ādi

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30 MSS all read yoge śīlam (rnal 'byor gyi ngang tshul). I suspect yoge represents a neuter nominative dual, with false attribution of gender.

31 Nāro also refers to these two types of tantras as "yogi" and "yogini." Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 4; (T) 106/5/4: yogiyoginyāditantra; rnal 'byor pa dang rnal 'byor ma la sogs pa'i rgyud. The first type is usually called "mahāyoga tantra."

32 [The pure aggregates, method, is "yogatantra," and from consideration the pure elements there is wisdom- "yoginitantra."]

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[unborn, unceased] means without beginning or termination.[33] Since beginningless time beginningless Buddhas have taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it: it is not taught merely by Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara and Śākyamuni.

Here, Vajrapāṇi said:

"That which past Buddhas spoke the future ones will also speak. And that which the present perfect Buddhas speak again and again,//(NS 12)

"And which great Vajradharas, measureless delighted holders of mantra, rightly sing in this Māyājāla-mahātantra..."//(NS 13)[34]

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[33] See NS 100ab, and cf. Guhyasamāja 18.38.

[34] [(Annotations:) The Nāmasaṃgīti is virtuous in the beginning, middle, and end. It clearly teaches the connate gnosis. It clearly teaches the nondual gnosis. (NS 12:) "Present" refers to comprehension (of the Nāmasaṃgīti) literally by means of current meditation, understanding, and so forth. Alternately, it refers to those who heard it and reflected on it before comprehending it by means of the echo-nature. "Will be spoken" means will be comprehended. (NS 12:) "Rightly sung" means realized by themselves. "This Māyājāla-mahātantra" has the characteristic of being completely enlightened by means of the net of illusion (māyājāla; sgyu 'phrul dra ba). And since it is also great, it is "mahā," i.e., the gnosis of great bliss. It is a "tantra" because it exists in a continuum, or because it is to be generated "Vajra" (of "Vajradhara") is the proper nature of the Gnosis Body. (The Vajradharas) are "measureless" because they are not within the range of thought. They are "delighted," i.e., their nature is connate joy. "Mantra" is the bliss that consists of the five gnoses.]

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(U 19; Bu 337) Because of this statement requesting the Nāmasaṃgīti, we know that all Tathāgatas teach the Mantrayāna.

Here, it says in the Samāja that between Tathāgata Dīpaṃkara and Śākyamuni no Tathāgata whatsoever taught the Mantrayāna. That [has the intention,] "at that time, at that period."[35] At the time they were teaching the Dharma in the land of the Aryans (North India), they did not teach (the Mantrayāna) to the entourage in the land of the Aryans because of the dispositions of those unfortunate sentient beings who had the conceit of the four castes. But it is not the case that they did not teach it at another time, to the cosmic entourage of another land. Because of this statement of the Tathāgata we know that all Tathāgatas teach the three vehicles. If it was otherwise, they would not be omniscient, because they would not teach the Vajrayāna. Therefore, all Tathāgatas teach the three vehicles and teach the eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma, in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings (D 11a). Thus, (the Ādibuddha) is embraced by the Nāmasaṃgīti that makes evident the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara.

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35 Guhyasamāja p. 109, prose following 17.71.

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Regarding, "It makes evident the vajra word in all Kings of Tantra": In this Vajrayāna the vajra word is hidden in all Kings of Tantra, in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings (Bu 338). For the Tathāgata says, "The Fourth is again like that."[36] The Fourth [the unchanging bliss] is not [identical with the bliss of ejaculation -] the third, because it is called [separately] "the Fourth." Because it says, "is again like that," that very wisdom-gnosis [- the third -] is [secretly taught as] the Fourth. Because of this statement of the Bhagavān, we know that the vajra word is hidden. The vajra word is not clear in all Kings of Tantra; it is to be comprehended through the succession of the guru lineage. For the Tathāgata said, "Tantra is to be understood by other tantras."

In this mantra system the vajra word has two aspects: one is from the point of view of worldly phenomenal (truth), and the second is from the point of view of ultimate (truth). Among these two, the vajra word from the point of view of worldly phenomenal (truth)[37] bestows

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[36] This is Guhyasamāja 18.113d, which is identical to Hevajra II.iii.10b.

[37] [E.g., "You shall kill living beings," and so forth.] See Guhyasamāja 16.61, which is virtually identical to Hevajra II.iii.29. Hevajra II.iii.30 demonstrates the allegorical nature of such expressions.

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the achievement of the pledge in the actions killing and so forth. The vajra word from the point of view of ultimate truth bestows the Fourth that is again like that - the result of the mahāmudrā siddhi.

In this Ādibuddha the Bhagavān very clearly elucidates those very [two] vajra words by means of brief accounts, explanations, and further explanations.[38]

In order to establish [belief] in that, he elucidated the mahāmudrā meditation - the path of the signs smoke and so forth. For he said (in the Basic Tantra): "Having fixed the mind single-pointedly in the void, one should examine (the signs) for one day." From this statement of the Bhagavān we know that the vajra word, the path of the mahāmudrā meditation - smoke, etc., is clear in the Ādibuddha; but it does not come from [i.e., depend on] the succession of a guru lineage, and it is not a blessing by the command of a guru.

(Bu 339) And this [mahāmudrā] path is believed in [if it is meditated] day and night, for the Bhagavān said, "One should examine the signs for one day." And here, a yogi should not forsake [meditation on] the signs smoke and so forth, and examine the other practices of the

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[38] This classification system is presented in Sekoddeśa 3-6a; commented on at Paramārthasaṃgraha 4-5. Cf. Hoffmann (1951:144-145); Shendge (1966:38); Nihom (1984:17-26).

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mantra [deity meditation] and so forth for one day, [because they are not the fundamental state].[39]

Also, there are three types of signs: the sign of the beginning, the sign of the middle, and the sign of the end. The sign of the beginning [is not merely first seeing the sign (rtags), but] is obtainment of the path of smoke and so forth, and obtainment of [one] unchanging moment [etc.] of completion of the divine image[40] by means of the six factor yoga.[41] The sign of the middle is obtainment of the first (bodhisattva) stage by means of eighteen hundred supreme unchanging moments; and obtainment of the five psychic powers, vision of invisible objects, and the worldly siddhis. The sign of the end is Buddhahood - the state of Vajradhara: having obtained the twelfth (bodhisattva) stage by means of twenty-one thousand, six hundred supreme unchanging moments, one obtains the mahāmudrā siddhi.

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[39] [The yellow annotations are sKyor lung pa's. Ma says: "The other mantra practices, etc., do not have the signs smoke and so forth."] Note: This annotation indicates that some of the annotations in Bu were written by a scholar or scholars other than Bu ston. sKyor lung pa (assuming there was only one lama with this name) was Tsong kha pa's vinaya teacher (Roerich 1949:1075); thus, he must have flourished during the latter half of the 14th century. "Ma" is an abbreviation for "rMa dGe ba'i blo gros's translation of the Vimalaprabhā."

[40] bimbaniṣpatti; sku rdzogs pa.

[41] ṣaḍaṅgayoga; sbyor ba yan lag drug.

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(D11b) The Bhagavan clearly taught this vajra word and so forth, [the path] that is preceded by the signs, in the Paramādibuddha King of Tantra. Thus, the [Kālacakra] Tantra makes evident the vajra word in all Kings of Tantra for those [who, even though they do not completely understand the meaning of the Samāja and so forth,] search in other tantras.

(U 20; Bu 340) Regarding, "It opens the jewel box of the Buddhas": The jewel of the Buddhas is the supreme unchanging bliss [- the connate joy]. The box is the lotus of the vajra gem.[42] The King of Tantra that opens that very jewel box of the Buddhas [and shows the method of actualizing it] is the one that opens the jewel box of the Buddhas.

Regarding, "It is based on worldly and transcendental truth": Worldly truth, [the path that is] conceptual meditation on the mandala circle, achieves [the result -] the worldly siddhis by means of the generation process (utpattikrama; bskyed pa'i rim pa). Transcendental truth achieves the mahāmudrā siddhi by means of the signs smoke and so forth, the nonconceptual mind of the completion

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[42] [The followers of Rwa (Chos rab) say that the box is the lotus of the vajra gem. The followers of 'Bro (Shes rab grags) say that the box is the vajra gem.] MSS support Rwa: vajramaṇipadmam. For more on the "jewel box of the Buddhas" cf. Hevajra II.ii.38d & II.iii.4d.

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process (utpannakrama; rdzogs pa'i rim pa). The completion process is connate, nonconceptual: [even though it appears as the divine image of the universe,] in all aspects it is separate from the thoughts face, arm, color, and shape. The one based on these two truths is the one based on worldly and transcendental truth because it shows both paths (i.e., the generation process and the completion process).

Regarding, "It is completely purified by the four perfect enlightenments and the four vajras": It is completely purified by the perfect enlightenment in a single moment, by the perfect enlightenment in five aspects, by the perfect enlightenment in twenty aspects, and by the perfect enlightenment of the net of illusion. These completely purified it by means of the generation process - birth in the womb, and by means of the process of completion of the divine image - smoke and so forth. Thus, it is completely purified by the four perfect enlightenments.

Regarding, "It elucidates the four Bodies, the six families, the twelve truths, the sixteen realities, the sixteen emptinesses, (Bu 341) the sixteen compassions, the worldly and transcendental initiations, and the path of the siddhis of the karmamudrā, jñānamudrā, and mahāmudrā":

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The four Bodies are: Pure, Dharma, Enjoyment, and Emanation. They possess the characteristics of the fourth, deep sleep, dream, and waking states of those born from wombs. And for Buddhas these are unobscured.

The six families are: unchanging bliss - the gnosis element, consciousness - the space element, construction- the wind element, feeling - the fire element, perception - the water element, and form - the earth element. The six families of those born from wombs are obscured; the six families of Buddhas are unobscured.

The twelve truths are: ignorance, construction, consciousness, name and form, the six sense spheres, contact, feeling, craving, appropriation, becoming, birth, and old age and death. The twelve truths of those born from wombs are obscured; the twelve truths of Buddhas are unobscured. The twelve truths of those born from wombs are obscured because their vital wind flows through the divisions of the vitality that has twelve transits (D 12a). The twelve truths of the Buddhas are unobscured because they have stopped the twelve factors (of dependent origination).[43]

The sixteen realities are: [the states of joy:] Emanation Body, Emanation Speech, Emanation Mind,

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[43] Cf. NS 132ab, 133a.

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Emanation Gnosis; [the states of supreme joy:] Enjoyment Body, Enjoyment Speech, Enjoyment Mind, Enjoyment Gnosis; [the states of distinct joy:] Dharma Body, Dharma Speech, Dharma Mind, Dharma Gnosis (Bu 342); [the states of connate joy:] Connate Body, Connate Speech, Connate Mind, and Connate Gnosis.[44] (U 21) The sixteen realities formed by the divisions joy, supreme joy, distinct joy, and connate joy are obscured for those born from wombs because they release half of a half of the sixteen drops. The sixteen realities of the Buddhas are unobscured because they hold half of a half of the sixteen drops.[45]

"The sixteen emptinesses" are the black lunar fortnight, sun [menses], wisdom. "The sixteen compassions" are the white lunar fortnight, moon [semen], method.

Emptiness has three divisions: emptiness, great emptiness, and ultimate emptiness.[46] With regard to that, emptiness is the emptiness of the five aggregates - five lunar days, being the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight and so forth. Great emptiness is the emptiness of the five elements - five lunar days, being the sixth

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[44] Cf. NS 133b.

[45] Cf. NS 145b.

[46] Cf. Pañcakrama III.4; Pradīpodyotana 16; Wayman (1977:15).

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and so forth. Ultimate emptiness is the emptiness of the five faculties - five lunar days, being the eleventh and so forth. Thus, the fifteen lunar days ending on the new moon are the fifteen emptinesses. The sixteenth (emptiness, or digit of the moon,) between the end of the new moon and the entrance of the first lunar day of the white lunar fortnight, is emptiness in all aspects.[47]

Likewise, there are three types of compassion: compassion objectifying sentient beings, compassion objectifying phenomena, and non-objectifying compassion.[48] With regard to that, compassion objectifying sentient beings is [the five aggregates, i.e.,] five lunar days, being the first lunar day of the white lunar fortnight and so forth. Compassion objectifying phenomena is [the five elements, i.e.,] five lunar days, being the sixth and so forth. Non-objectifying compassion is [the five faculties, i.e.,] five lunar days, being the eleventh and so forth ending on the full moon (Bu 343). The sixteenth compassion [compassion in all aspects] is between the end of the full moon and the entrance of the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight. The unity of these two [emptinesses and compassions] is the subject that consists

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[47] Cf. Davidson (1981:34 [n. 112]); Snellgrove (1959a:80 [n. 1]).

[48] Cf. Madhyamakāvatāra & -bhāṣya I.3a-4b.

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of the sixteen emptinesses and the sixteen compassions. (The Ādibuddha) expresses that.

Regarding, "the worldly and transcendental initiations": With regard to the worldly initiations there are: (1) [ca] water (udakam; chu); (2) [cha] crown (mukuṭaḥ; cod pan); (3) [ta] ribbon (paṭṭam; dar dpyangs); (4) [tha] vajra and bell (vajraghaṇṭā; rdo rje dril bu); (5) [ja] great discipline (mahāvratam; brtul zhugs chen po); (6) [nya] name (nāma; ming); (7) [nga] authorization (anujñā; rjes su gnang ba); (8) [ka] vase (kalaśa; bum pa); (9) [kha] secret (guhyam; gsang ba); and (10) [ga] wisdom-gnosis (prajñājñānam; shes rab ye shes). The ten worldly phenomenal initiations for those born from wombs should completely purify their [ka] body; [kha] speech; [ga] mind; [nga] gnosis; [ca] elements; [cha] aggregates; [ja] sense spheres; [nya] action faculties; and [ta] so forth.

Regarding the transcendental eleventh initiation: From the precept, "the Fourth is again like that" (Guhyasamāja 18.113d; Hevajra II.iii.10b), we know that mahāmudrā, whose characteristic is supreme unchanging gnosis, purifies by means of the unobscured nature of the body, speech, and so forth [situated] in the guru's mouth.

Regarding, "the siddhis of the karmamudrā, jñānamudrā, and mahāmudrā": (D 12b) The karmamudrā is a

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woman having breasts and hair. The jñānamudrā is a woman one imagines in one's own mind. The mahāmudrā is separate from conceptual thought, it has the nature of a prognostic image.

Their siddhis are of three types: The karmamudrā siddhi is conduct in the desire (existence), [the bliss of ejaculation arising from the two sexual organs]. The jñānamudrā siddhi has the characteristic of the things of the form existence.[49] The mahāmudrā siddhi is separate from existent and nonexistent; it is endowed with the best of all aspects (Bu 344).

The Paramādibuddha elucidates the worldly and transcendental paths of these four Bodies and so forth.

Stated in such a fashion, (the Ādibuddha) consists of five chapters or five investigations: Cosmos, Soul, Initiation, Practice, and Gnosis. It is rightly taught so that [the beneficiaries] all sentient beings, humans and so forth, may obtain true, perfect Buddhahood. "Rightly" (indicates that it was taught) in a [clear] right fashion; it was not (taught) in the fashion of hiding (the meaning) in vajra words.

[Should you wonder what persons hold such a tantra:] "The Tathāgata prophesied that Mañjuśrī would redact the

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[49] [Vajrapāṇi says moving bliss.] Vajrapāṇi 166/4/1-4.

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Abridged Tantra from this Paramādibuddha. He also prophesied that in the future I would compose a commentary in order to train the brahman sages; that Yamāntaka and so forth would teach the tantra; (U 22) and that all the sentient beings dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages in the lands of Sambhala and so forth would obtain the Mahāyāna path."

The Tathāgata prophesied that in the future I, Lokeśvara, would compose a commentary on the Abridged Tantra in order to train the thirty-five million brahman sages dwelling in the village of Kalāpa.[50] He also prophesied that the other twenty-three fury kings and bodhisattvas would use emanation bodies to teach the Abridged Tantra (Bu 345) to all the sentient beings dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages, and that the sentient beings would obtain the Mahāyāna path.

Regarding the Mahāyāna path: Mañjuśrī gives the vase, secret, and wisdom-gnosis initiations of the vajra family. Those who would obtain that would obtain the

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50 [Here in the manuscript this translation is based on ('gyur stan) the vowel-lengthener (ring cha) is applied to the ka (of Kalāpa), and the vowel-lengthener is not applied to the la; this is corrupt.] Nevertheless, someone has consistently applied the vowel-lengthener ('a thung) to the ka of Kalāpa in Bu, probably as a result of misunderstanding this annotation.

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Mahāyāna path. These vase, secret, and wisdom-gnosis initiations [inserting the right and left winds into the middle channel] make all the castes (varṇa; rigs) [the brahmans and so forth, the winds and conceptual thoughts] a single clan (kalkaḥ; rigs). Because he possesses that clan, he is Kalkī.[51] The definitive meaning of this is, "His lineage (gotram; rigs) is the lineage of Kalkī because all mantra adepts are initiated into the vajra family (vajrakulam; rdo rje'i rigs)."

Thus, (the Buddha) prophesied Mañjuśrī Yaśas as Kalkī, and he prophesied I, Lokeśvara, as the second Kalkī in this Yaśas' lineage (D 13a). Likewise, in the proper sequence, he prophesied Yamāntaka and so forth - the ten fury kings, and Kṣitigarbha and so forth - the thirteen bodhisattvas. The thirteen bodhisattvas are interspersed among the fury kings, Yamāntaka and so forth. (These twenty-three) take up emanation bodies to act as kings of the inhabitants of the nine hundred and sixty million villages. They promote the Tathāgata's Dharma to all sentient beings. They destroy the wicked dharmas of the barbarians and so forth. They have the thirty-two marks of great souls. They are fully endowed with the qualities of sovereignty - the five psychic powers and so forth.

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[51] kalkin; rigs ldan: "possessor of the clan"-chieftain; cf. Newman (1988).

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[Therefore,] it is prophesied in this Paramādibuddha that Mañjuśrī would redact the Abridged Tantra (Bu 346); that I would compose a commentary; and that Yamāntaka and so forth would teach the Dharma.

The Second Brief Account: The Bhagavān's Teaching of the Tantra, Having Observed the Subject, the Discourse, their Relation, the Purpose,and the Ultimate Purpose. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.

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The Third Brief Account: The Relationship Between the Teacher and the Requestor, and the Basic Tantra and the Abridged Tantra

Now here I shall also discuss the relationship between the Teacher and the requestor. One who has not learned the subject and the predicate from the tantra commentary may say: "I am doubtful that in this Vajrayāna the Master of Great Goblins dwelling in Aḍakavatī, the great bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, requested the Tathāgata (for the Basic Tantra) and redacted it. King Sucandra was born from the womb of Vijayā, queen of Sūryaprabha - the master of the village Kalāpa in the land of Sambhala. How could he be the requestor (of the Paramādibuddha)? Since I have not heard it in any other tantra, and since it is not prophesied in any other tantra, the relation between the Teacher and the requestor is incongruous."

Therefore, I should discuss (their relationship). Here indeed, some say that one born from a womb cannot request the Tathāgata (for tantras) in the mantra system. (U 23) This is not so because even the Bhagavān was born from a womb. If one born from a womb could not request the Tathāgata (for instruction) and redact (the tantras) in this mantra system, then Śākyamuni, born into the Śākya family from the womb of Mahāmāyā, queen of the lord of men

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Śuddhodana, (Bu 347) could not be the Omniscient Teacher because he was born from a womb.

Also, some say: "[Although he was born from a womb, the Buddha] previously conquered Māra and generated enlightenment. Then he became the Omniscient Dharma Teacher. After he passed into complete nirvana, he did not enter into a womb again." This statement is utterly contradictory because something that is not itself established is not a proof for other (theses).

Here, if there was not first Buddhahood [the conquest of Māra] (D 13b), no one among gods, men, and demons could conquer Māra. Also, one does not actualize perfect Buddhahood first, because it is the absence of all obscuration. Also, [the two, Buddhahood and the conquest of Māra] are not actualized simultaneously: "The moment there is Māra, there is no Buddhahood, because the mind is obscured. The moment there is Buddhahood, there is no Māra, because the mind is unobscured." How could it be otherwise?

Here in the land of karma, except for the Bhagavān Buddha no one born from a woman's womb possesses the thirty-two marks of a great soul, the eighty minor marks, the curl between the eyebrows formed of thirty-two hairs, and the six psychic powers.

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Therefore, the so-called "Māra" is the stain of the propensities of sentient beings' samsaric minds. The so-called "Buddhahood" is the mind that is separate from the samsaric propensities. And similarly, the Bhagavān said in the Prajñāpāramitā: "The mind that exists is not mind;" it is natural clear light.[1] That very [clear light] is separate from samsaric propensities (Bu 348). Thus, Māra is the stained mind, and Buddhahood is the mind whose stains have gone.

Here, Buddha's external conquest of Māra [a provisional meaning] is a dream-like appearance of sentient beings' own minds. From the ultimate point of view, the Tathāgata's heart [separate from the extremes of existence and nonexistence] shall be extensively discussed in the fifth chapter (the Chapter on Gnosis).

Here, samsaric beings cannot articulate the Buddhas' and bodhisattvas' [pure and impure] entering into samsara for the sake of sentient beings. When I, Lokeśvara, entered into hell for the sake of sentient beings, Yama's deputies and the King of the Yamas sang a praise to me:

> "We bow to the Buddhas who, even though they are freed from the fetters of existence, take up existence for the sake of sentient beings. They

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[1] Aṣṭasāhasrikā 3; Conze (1973:84).

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rightly teach that karmic results not being lost over time is the meaning of void. The fire of right gnosis has incinerated the filth of their minds; they are always moist with right mercy. They delight in the aims of sentient beings; they act without speculation."//

Thus, foolish people cannot guess the Buddhas' and bodhisattvas' entering into wombs or going to hell towards the aims of sentient beings.[2]

Even a single bodhisattva skilled in the ten perfections, a lord of the tenth stage who has obtained the ten powers, uses many emanation bodies to teach the bodhisattva Dharma to the sentient beings in a

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[2] [This verse appears in the Mahāvajrameruśikharakūṭāgāra-dhāraṇī (Peking #407 & 571), the explanatory tantra for the Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī (Peking #406 & 574). There the bodhisattva Vajragarbha shows miracles that give rise to faith (in sentient beings). Being freed from evil destinies, (the sentient beings) are reborn as gods in the Heaven of the Thirty-three, and they praise the Bhagavān.]

The verse Bu ston refers to reads as follows:
/gang dag srid par 'khor ba'i srid pa'i skyon las grol/
/stong pa gsum yang las kyi 'bras bu mi 'dor zhing/
/ye shes me yis rnyog pa bsregs kyang thugs rjes brlan/
/spyod pa rtag (brtag) med dbang ldan de la phyag 'tshal lo/ (Peking #407; vol. 8, 291/2/5-6 = #571; vol. 11, 183/3/1-2). Bu ston's verse is very similar in meaning to that of Puṇḍarīka, but there are considerable differences in wording. mKhas grub (TC 425) notes that there are many verses in the sutras and tantras that express the same idea.

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trichiliocosm who are to be trained by bodhisattvas. That great bodhisattva is not more than one (Bu 349).

Likewise, the Bhagavān Buddha has completed his accumulations of merit and gnosis through the power of his former prayer. He has perfected all the qualities of sovereignty - confidence and so forth (D 14a). When the various requestors in the trichiliocosms in a Buddha field use the limitless utterances of limitless sentient beings to request the Dharma, he uses limitless, unobscured, illusory Emanation Bodies to teach the worldly and transcendental Dharma by means of the omniscient language that employs the utterances of all sentient beings. The Omniscient One is not more than one.

It is just like some great illusionist who emanates many illusory forms. He uses those emanated forms to uproot trees, and also to shake the mountain tops. (U 24) He uses forms like Sahadeva [Īśvara] and like Viṣṇu to bind Devadatta, and so forth. That great illusionist is not more than one. Likewise, the Buddhas' and bodhisattvas' illusory Emanation Bodies perform the aims of sentient being in the three existences.

Thus, in order to teach the worldly and transcendental Dharma to all sentient beings, prior [to entering the womb] the Bhagavān Buddha (was already) a lord of the twelfth stage. He was wise; he held the great

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illusion (NS 35a). (Bu 350) He possessed the optical illusion of the great illusion (NS 35d).[3] He was born into the Śākya family as Prince Siddhārtha in Lumbinī in the land of the Aryans, from the womb of Mahāmāyā,[4] queen of the lord of men Śuddhodana.

Also, Vajrapāṇi, a lord of the tenth stage, was born as Sucandra in the village Kalāpa in the land of Sambhala, from the womb of Vijayā, queen of Sūryaprabha.

Bhagavān Buddha manifested the twelve stages and took birth as Śākyamuni in order to teach the worldly and transcendental Dharma in the Buddha field. The bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi became King Sucandra so that the people to be trained by Sucandra dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages north of the Śītā River would obtain the path of true, perfect Buddhahood by means of the Paramādibuddha King of Tantra. These two, Buddha and bodhisattva, are related as Teacher and requestor by

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[3] [(NS 35a:) Since it without lust and non-lust, "the great illusion" is the nature of great attachment. Since the ineffable jñānamudrā is held to be the essence of that, "he held" it. By knowing the unflowing bliss inside the nave of the gem, "he was wise." (Bu 350) (NS 35d:) Obtaining the supreme unchanging (bliss/gnosis) that is the cessation of the twenty-one thousand, six hundred winds, he obtained two (bodhisattva) stages in each of the six cakras of the channels. Then returning again from the tip of the gem, he dwelt in the nave of the uṣṇīṣa cakra. In that way, "he possessed the optical illusion of the great illusion."]

[4] Mahāmāyā means "great illusion."

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means of Emanation Bodies or Enjoyment Bodies because the subject and predicate are not contradictory.

[The requestor] Vajrapāṇi's Emanation Body, King Sucandra, requested [the Teacher] the Tathāgata (to teach the tantra) so that [the beneficiaries] all sentient beings might achieve the worldly and transcendental siddhis. Also, [the reason the Teacher] the Tathāgata [taught was for the people to be trained]. He saw that the people dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages in the lands of Sambhala and so forth north of the Śītā River had pure minds that were near to good fortune (Bu 351). [Should you wonder how he taught:] Seeing that, he rightly taught the twelve thousand verse Paramādibuddha that does not conceal the vajra word, that elucidates the vajra word. He saw the future complete maturation of [Sūryaratha and so forth -] the thirty-five million brahman sages and the people dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages. Seeing that, the Tathāgata prophesied that Mañjuśrī would compose the Abridged Tantra from this twelve thousand verse King of Tantra; that he would teach the Basic King of Tantra; and that as Kalkī Yaśas he would make all the castes into a single clan by means of the vajra family initiation (D 14b). He also prophesied myself, Puṇḍarīka, the author of

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this commentary, as the second Kalkī. Then he prophesied (the Kalkīs) following me, Yamāntaka and so forth.

Here, the Bhagavān said (in the Basic Tantra):

Six hundred years from [this] the first year, Mañjughoṣa - King Yaśas - will appear in the place called Sambhala in order to mature the sages.//(1)

His great queen will be Tārā; his son will be Lokeśvara holding a lotus. He will arise from my Śākya line into your line, Sucandra.//(2)

Vāgmī Yaśas possessing the vajra family will be Kalkī by making the four castes into a single clan within the vajra family; not by making them into a brahman family.//(3)

If one teaches the Dharma to sages saying "Thus have I heard...," a dispute will occur: "He (Buddha) is not omniscient because he heard it from another."//(4)

(Bu 352) One should teach the Dharma in whatever fashion completely matures sentient beings.//(5)

A yogi zealously grasps the Dharma through proper words and corrupt words. When one gets the meaning from the local words, what is the use of treatise words?//(6)

(U 25) On the earth a jewel is called by different

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nominal distinctions from country to country; there is no difference in the jewel at all.//(7)

Like that, various redactors use various different terms for my pure Dharma, in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings.//(8)

Thus, I accept this abridgement of the essential meaning, "Omniscient One," and so forth.//(9, two pādas)

The king of speakers will teach the entire splendid tantra in five chapters having one thousand and thirty verses in sragdharā.//(10)

Also, this redactor and the commentator [on that], the bearer of the white lotus (Puṇḍarīka), will elucidate the path of the Buddha in this [Kālacakra] tantra for the families of sages and so forth.//(11)

[1] Candra, [2] Sureśvara, [3] Tejī, [4] Somadatta, [5] Sureśvara, [6] Viśvamūrti, [7] Sureśāna, Yaśas, and Puṇḍarīka will appear in sequence.//(12)

The former king, Sūryaprabha, was an emanation of Vighnaśatru. You, Sucandra, are [ka] Vajrapāṇi; in sequence will come [kha] Kṣitigarbha, [ga] Yamāntaka,//(13)

[nga] Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhī, [ca] Jambaka, [cha] Mānaka, [ja] Khagarbha, Mañjughoṣa, and Lokanātha, in the proper order.//(14)

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Yamāri and so forth, the ten furies, and among them the thirteen other bodhisattvas, will appear in sequence in the lineage of Kalkīs.//(15)

(Bu 353) [1] Kalkī Yaśas will appear, and so will his lineage: [2] Kalkī Puṇḍarīka, then the third Kalkī, Bhadra, likewise the fourth, Vijaya,//(16)

[5] Sumitra, [6] Raktapāṇi, and the seventh, Viṣṇugupta, [8] Arkakīrti, [9] Subhadra, [10] Samudravijaya, [11] Aja, (D 15a)//(17)

Kalkī Sūrya will be the twelfth, [13] Viśvarūpa, [14] Śaśiprabha, [15] Ananta, [16] Mahīpāla, [17] Śrīpāla, [18] Hari, [19] Vikrama,//(18)

[20] Mahābala, [21] Aniruddha, [22] Narasiṃha, [23] Maheśvara, (U 26) and [24] Kalkī Anantavijaya. Then again Kalkī Yaśas//(19)

will appear as his son having a great wheel - Kalkī Raudra. Vāgmī will put an end to the barbarian dharma by means of the paramāśva samadhi.//(20)

The Vāgmī teacher who will appear for Sūryaratha and so forth will redact the Basic Tantra you (will compose), Sucandra.//(21)

Here, you yourself, who fully mature sentient beings, will compose a commentary. The holder of the lotus

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himself will compose a commentary on Mañjuvajra's Abridged Tantra.//(22)[5]

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[5] For a critical edition of the Sanskrit of this citation from the Paramādibuddha, and a discussion of some of the issues it raises, see Reigle (1986). Additional annotations to the Basic Tantra citation: [(Verse 2:) "His great queen will be Tārā..."; this accords with Gyi and rMa (and MSS), 'Bro says, "Queen Mahātārā's..." (Verse 3:) shows the reason for appointing Yaśas as Kalkī. "Vāgmī" is a synonym for Mañjuśrī. (Verse 4:) shows the reason for (the Śrī Kālacakra) not saying, "Thus have I heard..." (Verse 5:) shows that even though it does not say, "Thus have I heard...," these is no incongruity. (Verse 6:) Since one should rely on the meaning, not on the letters, "A yogi..." (cf. Vimalaprabhā I.1.37-40). (Verse 7:) gives an example of different words not having different meanings. (Verse 8:) "Like that" example... (Verse 9:) "'Omniscient One,' and so forth," is the introduction (to the Paramādibuddha and the Śrī Kālacakra; see Śrī Kālacakra I.1 and the Vimalaprabhā's comment thereon). (Verse 10:) "One thousand thirty verses in sragdharā" metre is the measure of the text.] N.B.: "One thousand" appears in the text as digśata (phyogs rgya), i.e., "direction hundred." Bu ston has annotated this expression with "stong," i.e., "thousand." This is an example of the "number symbols" that will be met with frequently later on in this translation: "dig" represents the number ten because there are ten directions. Thus, "direction hundred" represents ten hundreds - a thousand. Another point: Bu translates vṛttam as tshigs bcad, i.e., "verse," instead of by sdeb sbyor, "metre" (an exception may be seen at Bu 364 where both translations are used). This agrees with Puṇḍarīka's usage of vṛttam, which does not appear in the Sanskrit lexicons I used. Verse 12: "Candra" is an abbreviation of Sucandra. Sucandra's son and successor, called "[12] Sureśvara" in this verse, is called Sureśa at Śrī Kālacakra I.157c. [(Verse 15:) "thirteen other bodhisattvas," i.e., "other" than the two, Mañjuśrī and Avalokita.] N.B.: mKhas grub (TC 437) rejects this annotation because it implies that there are twenty-six Kalkīs instead of twenty-five, which is mKhas grub's view. Puṇḍarīka is an emanation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (also called Avalokita, Lokanātha, and Lokeśvara). Both Yaśas and Raudra are emanations of Mañjuśrī (also called Mañjughoṣa and Mañjuvajra). Thus, if there are thirteen Kalkīs who are emanations of

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The Tathāgata prophesied that, in the sequence stated in the Basic Tantra, the bodhisattvas and fury kings would be cakravartins of the nine hundred and sixty million villages, and would teach the mantra system.

Because of this precept of the Tathāgata, King Sucandra wrote down in a book the twelve thousand verse Basic King of Tantra, as well as a sixty thousand line commentary, using the different languages of Sambhala and so forth (Bu 354). Then he taught it to the residents of the nine hundred and sixty million villages. Those sentient beings who were inclined towards it listened to it, recited it, memorized it, and extensively taught it to

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bodhisattvas other than these two, then there must be twenty-six Kalkīs: Yaśas, Puṇḍarīka, the thirteen emanations of the other bodhisattvas, and the emanations of the ten fury kings. The exact number of the Kalkīs was the subject of much dispute among the Tibetans; for more see: supra end of "The Second Brief Account"; infra notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.158-159; Rin chen gces pa'i lde mig 53-56, 59; TC 148-152, 437-438; and especially Reigle (1986). [(Verse 17:) For "Aja" (rgyal dka') Rwa says, "ma pham pa" (TSD 1768 ma pham pa=ajita). (Verse 18:) For "[17] Śrīpāla, [18] Hari, [19] Vikrama," Rwa says, "Śrīpāla and Harivikrama." (Verse 19:) "his son" means (Ananta-) vijaya's "son." "Kalkī Raudra," an emanation of Mañjuśrī, "will have a great wheel" in his hand.] Verse 20: "Vāgmī," as noted above, is one of the many names of Mañjuśrī; it is also one of the epithets of Bṛhaspati- cf. NS 50. The Vāgmī in verse 20 is Raudra Cakrī; the Vāgmī in verse 21 is Yaśas, as in verse 3 above. Both Yaśas and Raudra are emanations of Mañjuśrī. mKhas grub (TC 437) notes that the paramāśva ("supreme horse") samadhi emits many horses. Sādhanamālā #261 is entitled Paramāśvasādhanam. Verse 21: "The holder of the lotus" is Puṇḍarīka.

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others. In the second year after the teaching of the tantra, (Sucandra) displayed the mandala circle and miracles; then, using an Enjoyment Body he went to the place from which his Emanation Body had come, as a cause for sentient beings' siddhis.

Then [Kṣitigarbha] Sureśvara taught the tantra for one hundred years. Likewise, [Yamāntaka] Tejī, [Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhī] Somadatta, [Jambaka] Sureśvara, [Mānaka] Viśvamūrti, [Khagarbha] Sureśāna (each taught the tantra for one hundred years).

Mañjuśrī - King Yaśas - took birth in the womb of Viśvamātā, queen of this Sureśāna - the Emanation Body of Khagarbha. He taught the Dharma on the bodhisattva's lion throne for one hundred years.

Then, after one hundred years were completed, through the power of the blessing of the Tathāgata's prophecy he saw that it was time for the complete maturation of the sages. Through the power of his five psychic powers he knew that they would obtain the noble path. King Yaśas, desiring to give them the precept, summoned all [the sages].

To the south of the village of Kalāpa there is a sandalwood pleasure grove. It is twelve leagues in breadth, the same as the village of Kalāpa. To the east of that (grove) is a miniature Manāsa lake, twelve leagues

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in breadth. To the west is a white lotus lake having the same measure (D 15b).

The sandalwood pleasure grove is between those two lakes. In the middle of the sandalwood pleasure grove is the mandala circle of Bhagavān Kālacakra made by King Sucandra (Bu 355). It consists of male and female deities fashioned from the five precious things. It is square; four hundred cubits in breadth.

To the outside is the Body mandala. It is square, has four entrances, four portals, and is adorned with eight charnel grounds. It is enclosed by five fences. Outside it is adorned with the four discs of earth and so forth, and a row of vajras. The diameter of the row of vajras is eight hundred cubits.

The Speech mandala is in the middle of the Body mandala; it is square, and half the measure (of the Body mandala). It has four entrances and is adorned with four portals. It is enclosed by five fences.

The Mind mandala is half the size of the Speech mandala. It is square, has four entrances, and is adorned with four portals. (U 27) It is enclosed by three fences.

The Gnosis circle is half of that. It is beautified by sixteen pillars. The eight-petalled lotus is half of that. One-third of the lotus is its pericarp.

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Thus, the Body, Speech, and Mind mandalas are endowed with all the characteristics. They are furnished with strings and half-strings of pearls. They possess jewelled tapestries, daises, and bakuli trees. They are illuminated by mirrors, half-moons, and bells.

In this mandala house consisting of the three mandalas, on the full moon of Phālguṇa (February-March), King Yaśas gave the precept to the thirty-five million brahman sages headed by Sūryaratha:

"O Sūryaratha and you other brahman sages, listen to my speech that bestows the excellence of omniscience [if it is properly practiced]! On this full moon of Caitra (March-April) [next month] I must give the [Vajrayāna] doctrine to you who observe the precepts of the Vedas and smṛtis [of the sages] (Bu 356). Thus, venerable sirs, separate out those brahmans [whose conduct is uncongenial] belonging to the families of various other countries [separate out those belonging to brahman families that abide by the customs of different countries] and show them to me."

Because of that statement they scrutinized the practices of the various countries: eating from skulls, eating beef and buffalo flesh, drinking liquor, and incest with one's mother and so forth. When they saw that the

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countries' customs were mutually contradictory, (the sages) all fell down.

Thus, seeing their contradictions, King Yaśas spoke: "Here, I must lead [you venerable sages] into this mandala house of Bhagavān Kālacakra and give you the worldly and transcendental initiations. Furthermore, you venerable sirs must eat, drink, and form marriage relations with the vajra family, in accordance with my command. But if you will not obey my command, venerable sirs (D 16a), then quit my nine hundred and sixty million villages and go wherever you will!

"Otherwise, after eight hundred years have elapsed your descendents will take up the barbarian dharma and will become teachers of the barbarian dharma in the ninety-six great lands of Sambhala and so forth. Using the mantra of the barbarian deity *Bismillāh,[6] they will hack the throats of beasts with cleavers.[7] Then they will enjoin eating the flesh of those beasts killed with the mantra of their own deity, and will prohibit eating the flesh of those that die due to their own karma.

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[6] [Ma says, "bi smin ra ma lha'i."] Arabic: "in the name of Allāh." MS B biṣavimlā; MS N biṣavilvā (last syllable uncertain); MS D biṣavilvā (Note: MSS do not distinguish ba and va); Bu bi ṣi mi lla. Cf. Hoffmann (1969:62, 64-65).

[7] karttikā; gri gug.

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"Also, that dharma is authoritative for you because of the statement in the smṛti: 'Beasts are created for sacrifice.'[8] There is no difference between the barbarian dharma and the Vedic dharma with regard to killing (Bu 357).

"Therefore, the descendents of your family will see the valor of those barbarians, as well as the manifestation of their devil deity in battle, and in the future, after eight hundred years have elapsed, they will become barbarians.

"Once they have joined the race of the barbarians, everyone dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages, the four castes and so forth, will also become barbarians. For the brahman sages say: 'Where the great man goes, that is the path.'[9]

"Here, in the barbarian dharma as well as in the Vedic dharma one must kill for the sake of the deity and the ancestors, and the same is true in the dharma of the kshatriyas. For the brahmans say: 'Having satisfied the ancestors and the gods, there is no fault in eating

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[8] Upadhyaya has identified this as Manusmṛti 5.39. Bu attaches the annotation "killed" to the "beasts" in this quotation. I omit it in light of the interpretation put forward by mKhas grub (TC 442), who sees the passage as referring to Brahmā's supposed creation of the world.

[9] Upadhyaya has identified this as Mahābhārata 3.313.117.

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flesh';[10] and likewise: 'I see no fault in one who would do ill to a vicious (beast).'[11]

(U 28) "Thus, holding the Vedic dharma to be authoritative, they will take up the barbarian dharma. For this reason, so that the barbarian dharma will not enter (my realm) in the future, I give you this precept. Therefore, you venerable sirs must obey my command."

Spoken in such a fashion, King Yaśas' speech, together with its chastising command, was like a lightning-bolt falling on the heads of the brahman sages. They said to Sūryaratha: "O Sūryaratha! Please inform the lord of men Yaśas: 'We will not abandon the dharma of race (jāti; rigs) that is explained in the Veda and engage in the dharma of initiations of the vajra family. Therefore, in accordance with your command, it is best that we go to the land of the Aryans, south of the Śītā River and the Himalayas, and north of the island of Laṃkā.'"[12]

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[10] Upadhayaya has identified this as Yājña. ācā. 179.

[11] Unidentified.

[12] "The land of the Aryans" is India. The Śītā River is the Tarim River in Eastern Turkistan: see Beal (1884:I.12-13, and s.v.); Laufer (1907:404); Wylie (1962:58). "Himalayas" translates himavata; kha ba can. "The island of Laṃkā" is modern Sri Lanka.

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(Bu 358) Using the statement of those brahman sages, Sūryaratha informed the lord of men Yaśas: "O great king! Emperor! Supreme sovereign! You are fully endowed with the components of the thirty-two marks of a great soul and the eighty minor marks! You are the ornament of the splendid Śākya family! (D 16b) O supremely compassionate one, have mercy on those engaged in the dharma of their own family! Since by all means we must obey your command, we will not engage in the initiations of the vajra family; it is best that, in accordance with your command, we go to the land of the Aryans south of the Śītā River, between the Himalayas and the island of Laṃkā."

Then, because of Sūryaratha's speech, King Yaśas said: "Venerable sirs, quickly leave the land of Sambhala! In this way all the sentient beings dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages north of the Śītā River will completely abandon the non-virtuous karmic paths of killing and so forth. Then, by the blessing of Bhagavān Kālacakra, they will obtain the path of right gnosis."

In accordance with King Yaśas' command, all those brahman sages left the village of Kalāpa. On the tenth day they entered into a forest.

Through the power of his five psychic powers, King Yaśas knew that they had entered into the forest. (He

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knew) that should the brahman sages go to the land of the Aryans, all the sentient beings dwelling in the nine hundred and sixty million villages would have disastrous thoughts. The kshatriyas and other people would think: "Here, the reason [for their going] is that [the initiations, the two processes, and so forth] spoken of in the Vajrayāna are not the path of right gnosis (Bu 359). For this reason those sages have completely abandoned their own place, from fear of the splendid King Yaśas. Taking their households, they have gone to the land of the Aryans. They all strive for liberation." Thinking this way they would obtain ill fortune because their minds would become unsuitable vessels for the profound and vast Dharma.

Thus, knowing the dispositions of the individual minds of all people, the lord of men Yaśas became absorbed in the samadhi named "Stupefier of All the Families of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Rudra." By means of that samadhi, and by the power of the deity's blessing, all those sages became stupefied in that forest. Aborigines and so forth dwelling in that forest bound all the sages, brought them back to the great mandala house, and threw them before the feet of the lord of men Yaśas.

Awakening, they saw the lord of men Yaśas, the mandala house, and the sandalwood pleasure grove. When

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they saw these things, they were astonished, and said this: "Oh! This is very strange! Who brought us from the great forest to the mandala house while we were unconscious?"

King Yaśas' minister Sāgaramati, an emanation body, heard this speech of the brahman sages, and said (D 17a): "O Sūryaratha and you other brahman sages, do not be astonished! This King Yaśas is not parochial. (U 29) He is a great, enraged bodhisattva who has appeared due to the blessing of the Buddha in order to take care of you (Bu 360). Therefore, go to his feet for refuge and request initiation into the path that achieves the worldly and transcendental siddhis in the Ādibuddha King of Tantra."

Then, due to Sāgaramati's speech and the blessing of the Buddha, Sūryaratha and the other brahman sages were awakened, and said this: "Well said! Well said, Sāgaramati! Your speech has awakened our minds. Therefore, now we will go for refuge to the Three Jewels and request initiation into the path that achieves the worldly and transcendental siddhis in the Kālacakra King of Tantra so that all sentient beings may obtain true, perfect Buddhahood in this very life."

Having said that, the sages called to Sūryaratha, king of the brahman family: "O Sūryaratha! You are a

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single book that contains the texts of the Vedas and so forth! Your heart grasps that which is to be demonstrated in all the worldly and transcendental treatises! Thus, request King Yaśas with our words of request! We too will go for refuge, preceding it with a mandala, and then all of us will request (initiation)!"

Then, in accordance with the speech of the brahman sages, Sūryaratha made a mandala of flowers formed from jewels and gold. He scattered handfuls of jewelled flowers before the feet of the lord of men Yaśas. Sūryaratha and the brahman sages placed their knees on the ground and their hands on top of their heads and bowed to the feet of Yaśas (Bu 361). Then Sūryaratha planted his right kneecap on the earth, set his cupped hands at his forehead, and requested the lord of men Yaśas (for instruction): "Please teach the Ādibuddha King of Tantra! In it the Bhagavān explained that even those who [formerly] created the five sins of immediate retribution may obtain Buddhahood in this very life [if they engage in (the tantra) and practice it]. He explained that they will obtain the mahāmudrā that is governed by the supreme unchanging bliss of Bhagavān Vajradhara. Please redact this twelve thousand verse Ādibuddha that the Tathāgata taught King Sucandra by making the text shorter, and

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compose a short Ādibuddha King of Tantra. Then, please teach it to the brahman sages."

Then, having listened to Sūryaratha's request, through the power of the Tathāgata's blessing the redactor abridged the tantra in accordance with the inclinations of the brahman sages (D 17b). He taught the King of Tantra using verses in the sragdharā (metre) that summarize (the topics -) the Omniscient Teacher, and so forth.

And[13] in order to eradicate the clinging to proper words of those proponents of proper words, he relied on the meaning. In some verses there are corrupt words. In some verses the caesuras are lacking. Some have words without case endings. In some letters and vowels are elided (BHSG 2). In some verses long vowels are short, and short vowels are long (BHSG 3 & 1.10). In some the locative case is used for the ablative case (BHSG 7.82), and the genitive case is used for the dative case (BHSG 7.63). In some a middle voice is attributed to a root that possesses an active voice (BHSG 37.22 ff.) (Bu 362), and an active voice is attributed to one that possesses a middle voice (BHSG 37.10 ff.). In some the plural number is used for the singular number, and the singular number is used for the plural number (cf. BHSG 25.4, etc.). The

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[13] For a study of the remainder of this "Brief Account" see: Newman (1988).

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neuter gender is used for the masculine gender and the masculine gender is used for the neuter (BHSG 6.1 & 1.10). In some the dental (sa) and the cerebral (ṣa) are used for the palatal letter śa; in some the dental and the palatal are used for the cerebral; in some the palatal and the cerebral are used for the dental (BHSG 2.56 ff.). There are also other such things that must be understood in conformity with the oral instructions of the tantra teacher.

Likewise, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:

Sucandra, disciples should constantly offer desired things - wives, daughters, and beloved sons - to all the Buddhas and gurus.//(1)

Odor arises from earth, form from water, taste from fire, tactile from wind, sound from the unchanging, the sphere of phenomena from the great sky.//(2)

(U 30) Having constantly worshipped the mudrā with perfumes, incense, lamps, and so forth, and food, drink, clothing, and so forth, the noble son gives her to the guru.//(3)

A yogi should comprehend corrupt words such as these, and others, too, by reading the texts. Likewise, I must write this commentary relying on the meaning in order to eradicate conceit in proper words. Thus, Buddhas and bodhisattvas teach the Dharma for the sake of liberation.

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Relying on the meaning, they use the different vernaculars and the different languages of the grammatical treatises, whichever eliminate conceit in family, learning, and proper words.

The Third Brief Account: The Relationship Between the Teacher and the Requestor, and the Basic Tantra and the Abridged Tantra. (Bu 363) From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.

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The Fourth Brief Account: Establishing the Teacher and the Requestor of the King of Tantra by means of "The Omniscient One," and so forth

Now I shall explicate the Abridged King of Tantra through the relation of Mañjuśrī's emanation - the lord of men Yaśas - and Sūryaratha being teacher and requestor, and so forth.

(D 18a) Here, Sūryaratha requested the lord of men Yaśas for instruction. Yaśas sat on the great jewelled lion throne in the great precious gem pavilion near the eastern entrance to the mandala house of the great Śrī Kālacakra. The god, demon, and naga emanation bodies engendered in the ninety-six great royal families, all bound with great jewelled diadems, each a master of ten million villages, saluted his lotus feet. Yaśas was the Image of the wisdom of all the Tathagātas.[1]

He said this to Sūryaratha: "Sūryaratha, your desire and effort to listen to the Paramādibuddha King of Tantra, the noble being,[2] so that [the beneficiaries] the families

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[1] [(Annotations:) "Yaśas" specifies his name. "Sūryaratha" specifies the requestor. "The pavilion" specifies the place. "The god, demon, and naga emanation bodies" specifies the entourage. His being "the Image of the wisdom of all the Tathāgatas" specifies his nature.]

[2] sadbhāva; dam pa'i dngos po.

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of brahman sages and so forth, all sentient beings, may obtain the path of true, perfect Buddhahood, is excellent, it is very excellent. Since it is excellent, I shall teach you everything you inquired about: [that to be taught -] the Paramādibuddha King of Tantra, the noble being, the one that achieves the worldly and transcendental siddhis, the vajrayoga of Kālacakra.

(Bu 364) "I, the redactor, King Yaśas, will redact (the Abridged Tantra) through the power of the blessing of the Tathāgata. I will do this by relating the true, perfect Buddha and Sucandra as Teacher and requestor [without incongruity]. I will do this using the sragdharā metre. Listen with a single-pointed mind to the Abridged Tantra that was prophesied before, that will be extracted from the great [Basic] King of Tantra, to the noble being, the yoga that consists of wisdom and method."[3]

Then, [the specific of the teacher -] Bhagavān Mañjuśrī's emanation body, the lord of men Yaśas, spoke the first verse that summarizes (the natural topics of) the Teacher and so forth, that the Tathāgata had prophesied in [the Basic Tantra -] the Paramādibuddha.

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[3] [Cast away the three or six faults (of listening), and "listen."]

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In Sanskrit: Paramādibuddhoddhṛta-Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja.

In Tibetan: mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba.

In English: The King of Tantra Named "The Splendid Wheel of Time," Extracted from the Supreme Primal Buddha.

The First Chapter: The Arrangement of the Cosmos

Homage to Śrī Kālacakra!

Śrī Kālacakra I.1

The Omniscient One, the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals, the Buddha sitting on the lion throne, was saluted by the best of gods. King Sucandra bowed his head, and placing the cupped lotuses of his hands on top of his head, he asked for the yoga in the Śrī Kālacakra-the A collection that possesses the KA line - for the liberation of humanity.//[4]

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[4] [(Annotations:) "The Omniscient One" etc. shows the first topic; "the lion throne" shows the second topic; "best of gods" shows the third topic; "King Sucandra" shows the fourth topic; "yoga" etc. shows the fifth topic.] The natural topics are listed above in "The Second Brief Account." The expression kaliyugasamaye (ka phreng ldan pa'i a 'dus la) in pāda d, which I have translated as "the A collection that possesses the KA line," is an example of intentional language (saṃdhyābhāṣā; dgongs pa'i skad). It will be explained

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(U 31; D 19b) Here in the King of Tantra, the Bhagavān (Maṁjuśrī Yaśas) proclaimed this first verse in order to summarize the Teacher and so forth. Here, 'the Teacher and so forth' are the Teacher, the place, the great entourage, the requestor, the Dharma teaching, the purpose, and the ultimate purpose.

(Bu 365) The first of these is the summary of the Teacher. The Bhagavān summarized (the topic of) the Teacher with the twenty-three syllables, "The Omniscient One, the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals, the Buddha." With the five syllables, "sitting on the lion throne," he summarized the place. With the seven syllables, "was saluted by the best of gods," he summarized the great entourage. With the twenty-eight syllables, "King Sucandra bowed his head, and placing the cupped lotuses of his hands on top of his head, he asked," he summarized the requestor. With the fourteen syllables, "for the yoga in the Śrī Kālacakra, the A collection that possesses the KA line," he summarized the Dharma teaching. With the seven syllables,

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below in "The Fifth Brief Account."

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"for the liberation of humanity," he summarized the purpose and the ultimate purpose.[5]

Thus, Bhagavān Mañjuśrī, prophesied by the Tathāgata, used these eighty-four syllables to extract and summarize in the proper sequence the Teacher, the place, the great entourage, the requestor, the Dharma teaching, the purpose, and the ultimate purpose, from the Basic King of Tantra.

Someone who relies on terms and letters will say here: "Is it not the case that in all Kings of Tantra the Tathāgata specifies Bhagavān Vajradhara's dwelling place by saying 'Thus have I heard,' and so forth? How is it that the Bhagavān Buddha rightly taught this King of Tantra saying 'The Omniscient One,' and so forth, without saying 'Thus have I,' and so forth? (Bu 366) Since it does not specify the dwelling place with 'Thus have I,' and so forth, the Bhagavān Buddha did not teach this King of Tantra."[6]

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[5] The numbers of syllables, of course, refers to the Sanskrit text. It is amazing to find that the Tibetan translation matches the Sanskrit syllable for syllable in each topic!

[6] The formula evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ ekasmin samaye, "Thus have I heard, at one time...," is prescribed for the beginning of all recitations or redactions of buddhavacana; cf. Lamotte (1983:6).

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(D 20a) Therefore, I shall discuss this. Here, in the future foolish people who rely on letters and terms will say that in all Kings of Tantra the Tathāgata specifies Bhagavān Vajradhara's dwelling place by saying "Thus have I heard," and so forth. This is not the case because the Dharma Teacher relies on the meaning, and also because the redactors redact the Dharma using various different vernaculars.

Here, if the Tathāgata taught the Dharma by means of "Thus have I heard," and so forth, a parochial[7] statement in Sanskrit produced by the effort of the throat, palate, and so forth, then the Tathāgata would not be able to teach the eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma many times, and the redactors would not be able to write them down many times, because "Thus have I heard" is a single parochial statement in Sanskrit. Here, since there would not be limitless Emanation Bodies, the Tathāgata could not teach the Dharma using the utterances of limitless sentient beings simultaneously in limitless cosmoses. Since there would be no teaching of the eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma, there would be no Omniscient One. And such is not the case.

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[7] prādeśika; nyi tshe ba. The Sanskrit term means "provincial"; the Tibetan literally means "living for a day," i.e., ephemeral.

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Here, since the Tathāgata said the Buddha is measureless, the Dharma is measureless, and the Sangha is measureless, there is not just one Omniscient Teacher.[8] (Bu 367) There is not just one omniscient language that demonstrates the meaning using the utterances of all sentient beings. There is not just one specification of the dwelling place. The Tathāgata's requestors are not the śrāvaka Sangha alone, but here, in accordance with the various inclinations of sentient beings, there are many Omniscient Ones, many omniscient languages, many dwelling places, many requestors, and many Dharma teachings. Therefore, the Tathāgata does not teach all tantras saying "Thus have I heard" and so forth, using only the language of the gods (Sanskrit) that is produced by the effort of the throat, palate, and so forth.

Here, first he taught the Dharma of the śrāvaka system, the Tripiṭaka and so forth, using the language of Magadha. Like this: "ityapi sau bhagavā sammāsambuddho

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[8] [Rwa says, "the Buddha is not authoritative" (tshad ma ma yin pa; sic!), and so forth.]

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vijjācaraṇasampannaḥ sugato lokavidū anuttaro."[9] He taught the Dharma using this and other statements.

Likewise, he taught the Dharma using the language of ten million villages in the land of Campaka, north of the Śītā River. Like this: "akarṣukhuṣṇuk gagaṇku jiṇmak vijiriṭkrā dudurūpaka." He taught the Dharma using this and other statements.

(U 32) Likewise, he taught the Dharma using the language of ten million villages in the land of Suramma, north of Rukma.[10] Like this: "akamayasata valadadattaviraṭa manika akuṭavaradata jigitivaradat." (D 20b) He taught the Dharma using this and other statements.

Thus, since the Tathāgata taught the three vehicles using the local languages of many countries, (Bu 368) they were not taught solely using the Sanskrit language, by "Thus have I heard" and so forth.

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[9] ['di ltar yang de ni bcom ldan 'das yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa/ bde bar gshegs pa 'jig rten rig pa bla na med pa/] "Thus, he is the Bhagavān, the true, perfect Buddha, the one perfected in knowledge and conduct, the Sugata, the knower of the world, the unexcelled." The above passage and the two following passages are edited based on MSS and Bu, all of which are more or less corrupt. The preceding passage is very close to Pali.

[10] [Gold]. Bu reads ru ma ka pa for rukma; Bu is corrupt. mKhas grub (TC 456) says: "Suramma is *Suprabha ('Od bzang)." For more on Rukma and Suramma (or Surammā) see below.

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Thus, even among the Kings of Tantra the redactors wrote in the Sanskrit language, some specify the dwelling place with "Thus have I heard" and so forth, and some do not. First, many Kings of Tantra such as the twenty-five thousand line Śrī Samāja, the sixteen thousand line Māyājāla, and so forth, specify the dwelling place with "Thus have I heard" and so forth. Some do not. First, the twelve thousand verse Paramādibuddha, the thirty-six thousand line Yogānuviddha, and the Mahālakṣābhidhāna do not. And the same is true for many other Kings of Tantra as well.

Just as it is in the basic tantras, so it is in the abridged tantras that are extracted from them. Some teach (the dwelling place) with "Thus have I heard," and some do not.

Here, the Bhagavān specified the dwelling place in the Śrī Samāja: "Thus have I heard, at one time the Bhagavān dwelt in the vulvas of the vajra ladies, the Body, Speech, and Mind of all Tathāgatas."[11] (Bu 369)

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[11] The Sanskrit reads: evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvatathāgatakāyavākcitta-vajrayoṣidbhageṣu vijahāra. Puṇḍarīka, like Vajragarbha in the following annotations, omits the hṛdaya that normally follows citta in the introductory line of the Śrī Guhyasamāja. Cf. Guhyasamāja p. 4, and Hevajra I.i.1. mKhas grub (TC 482-483) explains that in the Bodhisattva Corpus hṛdaya is considered to be implicit in kāyavākcitta.

[Vajragarbha says: "EVAṂ" ("Thus") from the point of

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Likewise, he specified the dwelling place in the Māyājāla with "Thus have I heard" and so forth.[12] Likewise, he specified the dwelling place in other basic tantras and abridged Kings of Tantra as well.

Here, the Bhagavān said in the Paramādibuddha:

The Omniscient One, the Gnosis Body, the imperishable Body of the Sun, the Splendid Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals, the Buddha sitting on the lion throne;//(1)

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view of the definitive meaning is the Teacher Vajrasattva in the great bliss that is indivisible emptiness and compassion. "I" means by myself. "Heard" means realized. "At one time" means a single moment of highest enlightenment. "Bhagavān" means that great bliss itself. "Dwelt" means the divisions of the going and coming of prāṇa. By means of the divisions from the first quality through the fifth, it abides by means of the three qualities in the mandalas from the crown of the head through the navel, in the vulva or the secret vajra, and in the nave of the lotus and in the vajra gem. By means of the divisions joy and so forth there is the forward procedure of the coursing of the bodhicitta. (Bu 369) With regards to the reverse procedure, the reversal eradicates the objects from the vajra gem through the secret place, then it moves from the navel through the crown of the head. It makes the aggregates, elements, and so forth without obscuration by means of the divisions concordant cause and so forth. "Vulvas" means the elements (khams) that are the material elements ('byung ba) - space and so forth. "Vajra ladies" means objective phenomena. "The Body, Speech, and Mind" means the functions of body, speech, and mind. "Of all Tathāgatas" means the collection of the five aggregates.] This annotation is a paraphrase of Vajragarbha 5/4/1-8, Vajragarbha's comment on Hevajra I.i.1.

[12] Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja-nāma, Peking #102; vol. 4, 137/5/4-138/1/2.

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The Self of Body, Speech, Mind, and Passion, Vajrasattva, the Superior Deity, in the mandala of Body, Speech, and Mind by means of Body, Speech, Mind, and Passion.//(2)

This indivisible vajrayoga is Kālacakra, the unchanging bliss, the beginningless, endless Buddha, the Ādibuddha without partiality.//(3)

In all ways it is vajra good fortune, in all ways the binding of the universe; it is the true aim in twelve aspects and holds reality in sixteen aspects.//(4)

With this and other statements he specified the dwelling place in the Paramādibuddha.[13]

(Bu 370) Likewise, the Bhagavān said in the thirty-six thousand line Yogānuviddha:

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[13] Verse 1 is virtually identical to *Śrī-Kālacakra-nāma-tantragarbha 1, Peking #6; vol. 1, 181/3/3-4. Verse 3cd=NS 100ab; verse 4c=NS 133a; verse 4d cf. NS 133b. Verse 1 is the Paramādibuddha source for Śrī Kālacakra I.1ab. See also note 18 below.

[(Annotations to 3b ff.:) Since he has realized all existents as equivalent, he is "Buddha." The sphere of phenomena is naturally without "beginning" - origination, and "end" - cessation. The beginningless, endless bliss characterized by highest enlightenment in a single moment, in five aspects, in twenty aspects, and by means of the net of illusion is "the Ādibuddha." Since it is devoid of the two sides of method and wisdom, and object and subject, it is "without partiality." (Verse 4:) Since it is indivisible "in all ways," it is "vajra." Since it possesses the six special fortunes - sovereignty, beauty, and so forth - it is "good fortune." "The universe" (viśva; sna tshogs) is the aggregates, elements, sense spheres, and so forth. "Binding" is becoming a single taste in supreme unchanging bliss.]

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This single superior deity, who dwells in the lotus of Vajraḍākinī, abides in the self of the three existences by means of a connate joyous form.//[14] (D 21a)

With this and other statements he specified the dwelling place in the Yogānuviddha.

Likewise, the Bhagavān said in the Lakṣābhidhāna:

(U 33) The sentient being composed of all procuresses - Vajrasattva, the great bliss - dwells in the mystery of all procuresses, in the self of all sentient beings.//[15]

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[14] The Yogānuviddha is a Yamāntaka mūlatantra. [Since the place - emptiness, is not divided by conceptual thought, it is "Vajra." The nature of the thirty-seven (phenomena) on the side of enlightenment - the aggregates, elements, and sense spheres separate from obscuration- that which is equal with space, is "the lotus of the ḍākinī" - the void in all aspects. The "superior deity" is the void and all things having become a single taste. "Form" means own-being.]

[15] The Lakṣābhidhāna is the Saṃvara mūlatantra. For the following annotations see: (1) Vajrapāṇi 145/2/2; (2) Tantrarāja-śrī-laghusaṃvara-nāma I.2b-3b, Peking #16; vol. 2, 25/5/2; and (3) Vajrapāṇi 147/5/3-148/1/2.

[(Annotations:) "The sentient being" is the characteristic of the three realms, the Dharma Body. "Composed of all" means being the thirty-seven phenomena on the side of enlightenment. "Procuresses" are ḍākinīs. "Vajra" is the Dharma Body, emptiness, and wisdom. "Sattva" is the Connate Body, compassion, and method. The unity of these is Vajrasattva, "the great bliss," the supreme unchanging bliss. It "dwells in the mystery of all procuresses," in the sphere of emptiness. Procuresses are ḍākinīs; they are the aggregates, elements, sense spheres, and the abandonment of obscuration - they are equal with space. The Connate Body dwells permanently,

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With these and other statements he specified the dwelling place, and this should be understood from the guru's oral instructions.

Likewise, regarding the requestor, it says in the Śrī Samāja: "Then Vajrapāṇi, blessed by the Bhagavān Vajradhara, made this respectful entreaty: 'May the Bhagavān teach the great King of Tantra, the unexcelled of all tantras, the splendid assembly (Śrī Samāja) of all Buddhas, the discourse of all Buddhas!'"[16] With this and other statements Vajrapāṇi requested (the Guhyasamāja). (Bu 371) Similarly, it is well known from the Nāmasaṃgīti that Vajrapāṇi requested the Māyājāla.[17]

Here, regarding the requestor of the Paramādibuddha, it says:

In order to banish the passions of sentient beings, the Bhagavān impelled (Sucandra). He worshipped the

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separate from production and destruction, "in the self of all sentient beings" - all who perceive phenomena.]

[16] This passage does not appear in the received text of the Guhyasamāja. On the contrary, at Guhyasamāja 1.3 all the Tathagātas request Bhagavān Bodhicittavajra to teach the tantra. I suspect this passage is supposed to be drawn from the twenty-five thousand line mūlatantra (mentioned above) rather than the eighteen hundred line laghutantra that has come down to us. Cf. Newman (1987:98, 101 [n. 27]); Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 5.

[17] See NS 1-16; also Māyājāla-mahātantra-nāma Peking #102; vol. 4, 138/1/2-6.

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Teacher's twin lotus feet with body, speech, and mind combined.//(1)

He worshipped with jewelled flowers. Again, with joined hands full of flowers, he bowed his head with both knees planted on the ground.//(2)

Then, placing his right kneecap on the ground, he set his cupped hands at his forehead, and the King requested (the tantra:)//(3)

"May the Teacher clearly teach all these, without exception, as they are: the unexcelled of all tantras, the Ādibuddha that is always characterized as the totality of all siddhis;//(4)

"The yoga in this Śrī Kālacakra - in the one well-endowed with āli-kāli; the highest perfect enlightenment in a single moment, divided into four moments.//(5)

"It holds the four drops; it is reality differentiated by the sixteen divisions. It is void, gnosis, drop, best; it is Vajradhara, the Great One.//(6)

"It is the five syllable great void, the six syllable drop void. It is Buddhas, gods, and demons, in the Outer, body, and Other as well.//(7)

"Likewise, teach the Other soul - the twenty-fifth, in the natures; the measurements of the universe in

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the body; the cause of the origination of the three worlds;//(8)

"And the enjoyments of gods and demons."/(9ab)[18]

(U 34) With this and other statements King Sucandra requested the Paramādibuddha.[19]

(Bu 372) Likewise, Viśvarūpiṇī said in the Yogānuviddha:

Śrī Viśvarūpiṇī bowed to Vajrabhairava and asked, "What is the Yogānuviddha-tantra, the supreme bliss of Vajrasattva?"//[20]

With this and other statements she requested the Yogānuviddha.

Likewise, Vajravārāhī said in the Lakṣābhidhāna:

Vajravārāhī saluted Heruka, who consists of the three existences, and asked, "What is the Lakṣābhidhāna-

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[18] These nine and one-half verses form part of the Paramādibuddha source for Śrī Kālacakra I.1-2, which will be treated below. Compare verses 2,3, and 5 with Śrī Kālacakra I.1. Also, compare verses 6-9b with Śrī Kālacakra I.2. This provides a vivid illustration of how the subject matter of a mūlatantra could be condensed into the text of a laghutantra. (For verse 7ab cf. NS 144cd.)

[19] For more on Sucandra's request of the Paramādibuddha, see Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 1-4.

[20] [Regarding the requestor, "Śrī" is the one that experiences nondual gnosis; "she has the form of the universe" (viśvarūpiṇī) - emptiness. Regarding the Teacher, "bhairava" has destroyed the vicious conceptual thoughts by making the winds, the indestructible aggregates, and so forth, great bliss within the avadhūtī - the "Vajra." The Dharma is "the Yogānuviddha-tantra."]

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tantra, the supreme bliss of Vajrasattva?"//[21] (D 21b)

With this and other statements she requested the Lakṣābhidhāna.

In a similar fashion, a yogi should understand the requestors in other Kings of Tantra. Since the Bhagavān teaches limitless Dharmas, Buddhists should not say, "He specified the dwelling place in all Kings of Tantra by means of 'Thus have I heard' and so forth."[22] If he did not use the omniscient language having the nature of the utterances of all sentient beings, if he used only this

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21 The following annotations are drawn from Vajrapāṇi 145/4/2-3 & 147/1/6-7. For another, similar analysis of heruka, see Hevajra I.vii.27.

[Regarding the Teacher, "the three existences" are the desire, form, and formless (existences, or realms); or else internally they are the lalanā, rasanā, and madhyamā that have become indivisible. "HE" indicates he has abandoned the cause (*hetu): the karma- and jñāna-mudrās. "RU" indicates he is separate from the characteristic of form (*rūpa). "KA" indicates he has abandoned the actions of the eyes and so forth, which is the characteristic of nonobjectifying compassion (*karuṇā). The fourth, Connate Body is "Vajrasattva." "The supreme bliss" is the supreme unchanging bliss.]

22 The following annotation is Vajrapāṇi 146/4/4-6. [Vajrapāṇi says: Buddhists should not say, "Those that have 'Thus have I heard' and so forth are the tantras the Bhagavān taught; those that do not are not." Here in the mantra system, perceiving fault in an unknown Dharma breaks a fundamental vow. It is said: "Those who are conceited in their learning go to avīci hell a result of breaking fundamental vows and so forth."]

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parochial Sanskrit speech, then the Buddha would be parochial as well.

(Bu 373) Here in the land of the Aryans, foolish Buddhists see the arrogance of the scholarly heterodox proponents of proper words, and come to believe: "Just as the chosen deities of the brahmans, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas, and so forth - Brahmā, Hari, Hara, and so forth - speak Sanskrit, so too our chosen deities, the Buddhas and bodhisattvas, speak Sanskrit."[23] Here, these Buddhas and bodhisattvas do not teach and redact the Dharma using the utterances of all sentient beings solely by means of this parochial Sanskrit speech, without using the omniscient language. Therefore, Buddhas and bodhisattvas do not use a parochial language that is entangled with birth as a god, because they teach the Dharma using the utterances of various sentient beings.

In this mantra system EVAṂ is not a term; there are many terms for even a single existent. And since there are many terms, no single term is chief because all terms demonstrate a single existent.

For example, among woman, female, young lady, and so forth, woman is not the chief term because all of these demonstrate an existent that possesses breasts and hair.

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[23] Hari (Khyab 'jug = Viṣṇu) and Hara (Drag po = Rudra) are common names for Viṣṇu and Śiva.

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Like that, among the terms E-letter, mystery [rahasya], lotus, source of phenomena, space element, abode of great bliss, lion throne, vulva, and secret [guhya], E-letter alone is not the chief term because all of these demonstrate the emptiness of all aspects.

(Bu 374) Similarly, among the terms VAṂ-letter, great bliss, great passion, connate, supreme unchanging, drop, reality, gnosis, and pure mind, VAṂ-letter alone is not the chief term because all of these demonstrate mahāmudrā, connate joy, unchanging bliss.

Likewise, the two letters E and VAṂ demonstrate the existent that is bodhicitta: indivisible emptiness possessing the best of all aspects and compassion that does not objectify any phenomena. (D 22a) For this reason, a yogi should understand the nondual yoga that consists of wisdom and method without partiality by means of these and many other terms: the letter EVAṂ, Vajrasattva, bodhicitta, Kālacakra, Ādibuddha, the one consisting of wisdom and method, yoga, the one consisting of knowledge and objects of knowledge, nondual, without beginning and end, peaceful, Samāja, Sambara.

Here, in the Samāja and other Kings of Tantra the Bhagavan specified the letter E and the letter VAṂ at the beginning of the tantra by means of an etymology. Also, the redactors wrote it at the beginning of the tantra.

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This was done in order to mature the gods by means of the utterances of the gods. Therefore, do not assert the elision of these two syllables in the Samāja and other Kings of Tantra. (U 35) It is not the case that the Bhagavān did not teach these two syllables with his palate and so forth, and it is also not the case that the redactors wrote them down without hearing them.

Therefore, I shall explain the definitive meaning of these two syllables. First, [in the Other] is the letter A/[in the Outer] the space element/[in the Inner] the secret lotus (Bu 375). Following that is the [Other] visarga/[in the Outer] the sun/[in the Inner] menses. Following that is the [Other] letter A/[in the Outer] Rāhu/[in the Inner] the consciousness blessed by bliss. Following that is the [Other] anusvāra/[in the Outer] the moon/[in the Inner] semen.

[Then] visarga/sun/menses between the two letters A- the space element and Rāhu/consciousness - obtains u-ness. Then, when visarga/sun/menses has obtained u-ness, within ultimate truth it is without quality.[24]

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[24] guṇābhāva; yon tan med. [This teaches: "The a and the u of the grammar tradition become o; and here the letter A void is without quality in ultimate truth. Thus, in order to symbolize that, it does not become the guṇa o."]

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Since it is without quality [in ultimate truth, in order to symbolize the latter letter VAṂ - phenomenal great bliss -] it becomes a semi-vowel (i.e., v). Together with the latter letter A/Rāhu/consciousness, (the v) is VA itself. It is conjoined with anusvāra/moon/semen; therefore it is the letter VAṂ.

Likewise, the former letter A/space element/secret lotus has a locative termination (i.e, changes to i).[25] The letter A together with the further letter I become endowed with guṇa. Therefore, it is the letter E.[26]

You should understand that the letter VAṂ - the based that consists of visarga, the letter A, anusvāra, sun, Rāhu, moon, menses, ālayavijñāna, and semen - is in the middle of this letter E/space element - the base - in the Outer, body, and Other as well.

Here, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:

In the middle of the letter E space element, the bliss of all the Buddhas is taken (ālaya; len). (Bu

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[25] [It has a locative singular "termination" so that it will symbolize the basis of great bliss.]

[26] [Previously, in order to symbolize it as ultimate truth, the letter A was without guṇa. In order to show that even that ultimate is indivisible from the phenomenal, it becomes endowed with guṇa ("quality").]

The preceding is obviously unintelligible for those who do not know the rudiments of Sanskrit grammar, but for those who do, the grammatical process can be schematized as follows: AḤAṂ...AUAṂ...AVAṂ...AVAṂ...IVAṂ...EVAṂ.

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376) This VAṂ-letter Vajrasattva, because of the yoga of Body, Speech, and Mind,//(1)[27]

Is called Body, drop, moon, semen; Speech, visarga, menses, sun; Mind, letter A, shadow (tamī; mun can). It is situated in E, the space element.//(2)

It stays in the mandala of Body, Speech, and Mind through the yoga of Body, Speech, and Mind. It stays in the self of the three existences through Body, Speech, Mind, and Passion.//(3)

The Tathāgata specified the dwelling place by means of "Thus have I heard" and so forth in the Samāja and other Kings of Tantra (D 22b) in order to fully mature the gods, and so that they would obtain true, perfect Buddhahood as a result.

The Tathāgata taught that very being that is expressed in the Śri Sāmaja and so forth by means of this term "EVAṂ," by means of "mystery" and so forth in the Lakṣābhidhāna and other Kings of Tantra. And it should be understood from the guru's oral instructions by means of the different intentional language used in the various tantras.

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[27] Alternate translation of the Sanskrit: "The letter VAṂ in the middle of the letter E is the abode (ālaya) of the bliss of all Buddhas. This Vajrasattva in the space element, because of the yoga of Body, Speech, and Mind..."

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> Here, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:
>
> Tantra is characterized by the six alternatives: intentional language and that which is not; literal utterance and that which is not; provisional meaning and definitive meaning.//[28]

Because of this statement of the Bhagavān, a single term is not chief.

(Bu 377) Here in the Mantrayāna the Bhagavān speaks of three types of conviction: first, conviction derived from the tantra; then, conviction derived from the guru; then conviction derived from oneself. The path of the true, perfect Buddha becomes completely pure by means of these convictions. Otherwise, without these three convictions, the path that the guru relates to the

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[28] For more on this see: Jñānavajrasamuccaya-nāma-tantra Peking #84; vol. 3, 253/2/6-7 & ff., 253/5/3; Pradīpodyotana 3; Guṇabharaṇī 22a/4-22b/1. Western studies include: Matsunaga (1963); Steinkellner (1978); Broido (1983 & 1985); Ruegg (1985). Much work remains to be done on this complex and fundamental system of hermeneutics.

[(Annotations:) "Intentional language" is spoken for sentient beings who desire the supreme, by employing words that contradict the actual state of affairs of the Dharma. "That which is not" (intentional language) clearly teaches reality so that sentient beings having dull faculties may understand. "Literal utterance" extensively explains the meaning of the mandala, the realizations, and so forth. "That which is not" (literal utterance) is the Tathāgata's symbol that does not exist in the world or in treatises. "Provisional meaning" is explained in a hidden fashion to unfortunate persons. "Definitive meaning" well teaches the actual meaning.]

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disciple will not give the result of true, perfect Buddhahood; due to the idiocy of the disciple's faith, he will get a worldly result in accordance with phenomenal truth.

Here, the Bhagavān proposed a thesis in various tantras: Having made the mind devoid of conceptual thought, one should thoroughly examine the signs for one day. (U 36) If the disciple does not gain conviction by means of the procedure stated in the tantra and the guru's oral instructions, then the Bhagavān is a liar.[29] However, if the procedure the guru teaches from the tantra does not give the path to the disciple, then the Bhagavān's thesis is not a lie, because the guru does not fully understand the path, and because he promotes meditation on a contrary and impure path. Also, the Bhagavān did not say that one should forsake the signs smoke and so forth, and thoroughly examine for one day the other signs achieved by (meditating on) the mandala circle.

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[29] A verse expressing this idea is given at Vajragarbha 169/2/3-4. The Sanskrit of this verse is given at Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 39:
sarvacintāṃ parityajya dinam ekaṃ parīkṣayet/
yadi na syāt pratyayas tatra tadā me tan mṛṣā vacaḥ//(sic)
This verse is related to Hevajra II.ii.9; the first pādas of both verses are identical.

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Here, the subject in a King of Tantra [like the Samāja] that consists of three [pure] families[30] is the three-faced one that consists of the families of Body, Speech, and Mind (Bu 378). The subject in one that consists of four [pure] families[31] is the four-faced one that consists of Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis. Together with own-being's one family, the tantra and the subject consist of four families. Likewise, together with own-being [gnosis'] one (family), one that consists of five [pure] families[32] becomes one that consists of six families.

Here, the subject that consists of four families in a tantra that consists of four families is unified sun, moon, Rāhu, fire; menses, semen, mind, gnosis (D 23a).

Here, the Tathāgata clearly proclaimed the vajrayoga in the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of Analytical Gnosis" by means of the three verses starting with the thirty-third. Like this:

Vajra sun, great light, the stainless light of the vajra moon, the primordial great passion that is

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30 [in the Outer: moon, sun, Rāhu; in the Inner: semen, menses, consciousness]

31 [the preceding sets together with Kālāgni and gnosis]

32 [the five aggregates and the five passions]

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separate from passion, the light that blazes in various colors.//(NS 109)

In the vajra cross-legged posture of the perfect Buddha, holder of the Dharma proclaimed by the Buddhas, the splendid one arisen from the Buddha-lotus, holder of the treasury of all-knowing gnosis.//(NS 110)

The king who bears various illusions, the great one, holder of the spells of the Buddhas, the sharp vajra, the great sword, the supreme unchanging purity.//(NS 111)[33]

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[33] [(NS 110:) "The Dharma" is the indestructible drop of Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis. "Splendor" is reality. The "possessor" of that is nonconceptual gnosis. The "lotus" is emptiness. Since it "knows" all aspects by means of introspective knowledge, it is "all-knowing." Since all phenomena are assembled in that "all-knowing," it is the "treasury of gnosis." (NS 111:) Since the radiance of gnosis is clear, it is "the king." Since the letter VAṂ appears as enjoyment of the five objects of desire and so forth through the nature of the five syllable great void, it is "various illusions." Since it holds the four drops, it is "the great one." It is "the sharp vajra" up to the boundary of maturation due to the very nature of stainless, ultimate, connate gnosis. Since it has cut off conceptual thought by means of the concordant cause, it is "the great sword." Since all phenomena are of a single taste by their nature of maturation, it is "unchanging." It is the "supreme" thing a person is to do.]

Note: In this and all subsequent Nāmasaṃgīti citations I have translated the Sanskrit according to the Tibetan translation in Bu. Thus, my translations sometimes differ from those of Davidson (1981), which are based on earlier interpretations and different translations of the Nāmasaṃgīti. Nevertheless, my debt to Davidson's work will be obvious to anyone who cares to

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Because of this statement of the Bhagavān, the subject that consists of four families is Vajrasattva, the one who consists of [4] pure, [3] phenomena, [2] mantra, and [1] shape - Bhagavān Kālacakra (Bu 379).

Like that, (the subject in a tantra) that consists of five families derives from the divisions of the aggregates and elements. Likewise, the Bhagavān said in the Māyājāla:

Five-faced, having five hair-locks, a flowered crest of five hair-locks, holding the great discipline,

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compare our translations. The main difference is that I have not always attempted to make sentences out of the lists of names and epithets in the gāthās.

Many, perhaps most, of Bu ston's annotations to the verses of the Nāmasaṃgīti cited in the Vimalaprabhā are drawn from Raviśrījñāna's Amṛtakaṇikā-nāma-nāmasaṃgītiṭippaṇī (Peking #2111). mKhas grub (TC 476) tells us that Tsong kha pa was of the opinion that most of Raviśrī's notes are irrelevant within the context of the discussions of the Vimalaprabhā, and that they should be examined. And in fact mKhas grub criticizes and rejects most of Raviśrī's (and by extension, Bu ston's) notes as being either irrelevant within the context, or else as being simply wrong. (As usual, mKhas grub does not mention Bu ston by name here). I find many of mKhas grub's criticisms of Raviśrī's notes compelling, and his own explanations of the Nāmasaṃgīti's verses fit the context within the Vimalaprabhā much better. I have translated Bu ston's (i.e., Raviśrī's) comments mainly for the sake of completeness, but given more time I would have presented mKhas grub's commentary as well.

Nāmasaṃgīti 109b-110b is quoted and commented on in Vajrapāṇi 167/3/6-167/4/2.

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possessing a girdle of muñja grass, continent, the highest discipline.//(NS 93c-94b)[34]

Likewise, the Bhagavān stated the subject that consists of six families due to the divisions of the aggregates and elements, and also that which consists of one hundred families due to the divisions of the mouths. He did this in the first verse of "The Praise of Mirror-like Gnosis" together with the verse quarter immediately following "The Pure Sphere of Phenomena." Like this:

(U 37) Vajrabhairava horrifies./(NS 66d)

Fury king, six-faced, horrible, six-eyed, six-armed, mighty, a skeleton baring his fangs, halāhala, one hundred-faced.//(NS 67)[35]

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[34] [The own-being of the five Tathagātas is "five-faced." The own-being of vision, illumination, acquisition of vision, clear light, and Dharma Body is "five hair-locks." That which is beyond the four devils- waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth - is "a flowered crest of five hair-locks." It "possesses a girdle of muñja grass" as a result of the coitus that does not ejaculate bodhicitta. It is "continent" as a result of non-ejaculation itself.]

[35] [(NS 66d:) "Vajrabhairava horrifies" thought and so forth by means of the avadhūtī yoga. (NS 67:) Since it clears away the extreme of being separate from joy, it is the "fury king" - pratyāhāra and so forth. Since it cuts off all suffering, it is "horrible." Since it enjoys the six objects as great bliss, it is "six-eyed." Since kaṃ becomes a portion of bliss, it is "a skeleton" (kaṃkāla < √kaṃ-kalā). Because of the blazing of caṇḍālī, it "bares its fangs." The hundred channels and the limitless channels being filled with great bliss by means of the binding of prāṇa is "halāhala."]

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Because of this statement of the Bhagavān, one should understand that the subject in the various tantras is the three-faced, the four-faced, the five-faced, the six-faced, and the one hundred-faced (Bu 380).

Here, the Bhagavān stated the place by means of the letter E in the Samāja and so forth. And the Bhagavān stated that very same place by means of the word "mystery" and so forth in the Lakṣābhidhāna and so forth. The very subject - Vajrasattva - that is stated by means of the letter VAṂ (in the Samāja) is stated by means of the word 'great bliss' (in the Lakṣābhidhāna).

In accordance with the stated sequence, the subject in the Paramādibuddha that consists of four families and six families consists of four families and six families.

The Bhagavān indicated indivisible emptiness and compassion, bodhicittavajra, great bliss, by means of the twenty-three syllables "The Omniscient One" and so forth (i.e., Śrī Kālacakra I.1ab).

Here, the word 'lion throne' indicates the space element - all aspects (D 23b). The one sitting on that lion throne is the one sitting on the lion throne. "Buddha" is Vajrasattva.

"Yoga" is the great aim - the supreme unchanging. This yoga is proclaimed in the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of

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the Great Mandala of the Sphere of Vajra" by means of fourteen verses beginning with these:

> Like this, Bhagavān Buddha, the perfect Buddha, is arisen from the letter A. The letter A is the foremost of all letters, is the great aim, the supreme syllable.//(NS 28)
>
> (Bu 381) Great prāṇa is unborn, it has abandoned oral declaration; it is the foremost cause of all expression, it well-illuminates all words.//(NS 29)

And ending with this:

> The great, highest spell is the protector; the highest of great mantras is the guru. He is mounted on the Mahāyāna system; he is the highest one of the Mahāyāna system.//(NS 41)[36]

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[36] [(NS 28:) A connate yogi "like this," i.e., from mahāmudrā, the nondual nature, (becomes) "Bhagavān Buddha." Because it is governed by great bliss, "the perfect Buddha," natural clear light, the emptiness of all aspects, the perfection of wisdom, the Fourth, "is arisen from the letter A." Since it is entirely of equal taste and indestructible, "the letter A is the foremost of all letters." Since it gives the good qualities of the Buddha, it is "the great aim." Since it (i.e., the "supreme unchanging" - paramākṣara; mchog tu mi 'gyur ba) is without production and destruction, it is "the supreme syllable" (paramākṣara; yi ge dam pa). (NS 29:) Since the ten mandalas of the right and left (channels) have gone into the middle channel, "the great prāṇa is unborn" because it is non-objectifying. Due to the nature of vajra recitation, it "has abandoned oral declaration." (Bu 381) Thus, since it is the clear light (prabhāsvara; 'od gsal) of "all words," "it well-illuminates" them (suprabhāsvara; rab tu gsal bar byed). (NS 41:) Because of mahāmudrā itself, it is "the protector." Since it

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The Bhagavān proclaimed this subject in all Kings of Tantra in accordance with the dispositions of the dull, middling, and best sentient beings.

Likewise, he proclaimed the subject that consists of the six families by means of the fourteen syllables "void, also gnosis" and so forth (i.e., Śrī Kālacakra I.2a). He also proclaimed that very same subject in the second verse of the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of the Gnosis that Accomplishes Deeds." Like this:

> The one that engenders the entire aim of the mantras, the great drop without syllables, the five syllable great void, the six syllable drop void.//(NS 144)[37]

(U 38) Thus, since he teaches the Dharma by means of limitless terms, Buddhists should not say: "A King of Tantra taught by means of 'Thus have I heard' and so forth is the teaching of the Tathāgata; one taught by means of 'mystery' and so forth, and 'Omniscient One' and so forth, is not the teaching of the Tathāgata." If one holds

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should be concealed (gsang ba) from others, it is "mantra" (mantra; gsang sngags). Because of great bliss itself, it is "the highest of great (mantras)." The gnosis of great bliss is the agent that obtains "the Mahāyāna." The "highest one" is the one bearing the peak of the Fourth.]

[37] [It is "the one that engenders the entire aim"- mahāmudrā, of the worldly and transcendental "mantras." Since the nature of expression has entered the middle channel, it is "the great drop without syllables."]

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faults in one's own system of tenets and in others' systems of tenets, one breaks the sixth fundamental vow.[38]

Therefore, knowing the relation of the subject and the predicate in the various tantras, you should understand their good qualities and faults. (Bu 382) Otherwise, vicious ācāryas gone outside the heart of the Tathāgata, addicted to sensual pleasures, liars, will go to avīci hell due to finding faults in things they know nothing about.

In accordance with the stated sequence, the Bhagavān rightly taught the Paramādibuddha King of Tantra by means of "the Omniscient One" and so forth. He did this using the best scripture and reasoning, without the subject and predicate being incongruous.

Here, someone will wonder: "Isn't that very Omniscient One the Bhagavān Buddha? For, both terms demonstrate one existent. Why did the Bhagavān make this repetitive statement 'Buddha'?" Therefore, I should discuss this.

(D 24a) Here, this statement, "That very Omniscient One is the Bhagavān Buddha," is true. However, foolish people imagine others, Hari, Hara, and so forth, to be omniscient, too. In order to repudiate their being

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[38] Cf. dPag bsam yongs 'du'i snye ma 34.

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omniscient, it says: "The Omniscient One, the Bhagavān Buddha." There is no other Omniscient One who teaches all Dharmas by means of the utterances of all sentient beings in among Hari, Hara, and so forth here in the three realms.

Here, you may ask: "Why isn't there an Omniscient One among them, one who teaches all Dharmas by means of the utterances of all sentient beings?" I shall discuss the reason for this. Hari, Hara, and so forth were born into the life of the gods here in samsara that is composed of the six destinies. (Bu 383) Bhagavān Buddha resides at the far limit of samsara.

Here, the Tathāgata stated the thirteenth verse of the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of the Very Pure Sphere of Phenomena." Like this:

> He has attained the far limit of samsara, has performed his deed. He stands on dry ground. He has spit out isolated knowledge; he hacks with the weapon of wisdom.//(NS 54)[39]

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39 ["Samsara" is joy and supreme joy. Their "far limit" is distinct joy. Since he has given the Fourth initiation, "he has performed his deed." Since he has obtained nirvana by doing whatever is pleasing, "He stands on dry ground." Nondual joy is "isolated knowledge." "Spitting that out" is the nature of great bliss. The "weapon of wisdom" is nondual gnosis. "He hacks" the net of thought.]

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Therefore, he is the Omniscient One, Bhagavān Buddha; "Buddha" is not a repetitive statement.

You may say: "Isn't that very Omniscient One the Gnosis Body? Why did the Bhagavān make the repetitive statement 'Gnosis Body'?" I shall discuss this. It is true that, "That very Omniscient One is the Gnosis Body." However, there are also other buddhas: śrāvakas and pratyekas.[40] In order to repudiate their being true, perfect Buddhas, the Bhagavān made the repetitive statement, "The Omniscient One, the Gnosis Body, the true, perfect Buddha, the Bhagavān, the Gnosis Body." Here, there are no Gnosis Bodies, no true, perfect Buddhas whatsoever among the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas. Here, you may ask: "Why are there no true, perfect Buddhas whatsoever among the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas?" I shall discuss the reason for this. Here, śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas dwell in a nirvana with residue, and a

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[40] ["Śrāvaka and pratyeka-" buddha arhats are accepted as buddhas.] With regards to this annotation, mKhas grub (TC 494) says that such arhats are called "buddhas" because they possess the body made of mind (yid kyi rang bzhin kyi lus), and refers to the Ārya-śrīmālādevīsiṅhanāda-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (cf. Peking #760/48; vol. 24, 255/4/8 ff.). I fail to see the relevance of this because advanced bodhisattvas also possess the body made of mind, yet are not called "buddhas." I wonder if Puṇḍarīka has in mind Madhyamakāvatāra & Bhāṣya I.1a, where pratyekabuddhas are called "middling buddhas" (sangs rgyas 'bring), perhaps implying that śrāvakayāna arhats are "little buddhas."

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true, perfect Buddha is liberated from all residue.[41] (Bu 384)

And the Bhagavān stated this in the eleventh verse of the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of Analytical Gnosis." Like this:

> He is liberated from all residue; he is well established in the track of the sky. He holds the great wishing gem; he is the highest of all precious things, the overlord.//(NS 87)[42]

(U 39) Therefore, the Bhagavān made the repetitive statement, "The Omniscient One, the Gnosis Body, the true, perfect Buddha, the Bhagavān, the Gnosis Body." (D 24b)

Someone will say: "Since that very Gnosis Body destroys the darkness of nescience, isn't it the Body of the Day-Maker Sun? Why did the Bhagavān make the repetitive statement, 'the Body of the Day-Maker Sun'?" Therefore, I shall discuss this. Here, this statement that, "Since that very Gnosis Body destroys the darkness of nescience, it is the Body of the Day-Maker Sun," is

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[41] upadhi; lhag ma. Not in Sanskrit lexicons with this meaning; cf. BHSD 135-136.

[42] ["He is liberated from all residual" thought by means of nonconceptual thought. "The track of the sky" is the divine image of emptiness. Since he holds the drop that simultaneously gives birth to all desires, "He holds the great wishing gem." "The highest of all precious things" is the drop of Body, Speech, and Mind.]

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true. However, there are also other Buddhists who are Vijñānavādins. In order to repudiate their consciousness reality, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun made the repetitive statement of 'the Body of the Day-Maker Sun': "the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, beyond the consciousness reality, the true, perfect Buddha." Here, no one among the Vijñānavādins is the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the true, perfect Buddha. Here, you may say: "Why is there no one among the Vijñānavādins who is the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the true, perfect Buddha?" (Bu 385) I should discuss the reason for this. Here, the Vijñānavādins dwell in the phenomenon of consciousness. The true, perfect Buddha is beyond the consciousness reality (vijñānadharmatā; rnam par shes pa'i chos nyid).

Also, the Tathāgata stated this in the twenty-third verse of the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise of Analytical Gnosis." Like this:

> Beyond the consciousness reality, gnosis, he holds the mode of nonduality. Without conceptual thought, spontaneous, he has performed the deeds of the perfect Buddhas of the three times.//(NS 99)[43]

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[43] [The ālayavijñāna that does not have the eye (consciousness) etc. is "the consciousness reality." "Beyond" means crossed over, the one consisting of void well realizing compassion. The Bhagavān himself, the one

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Therefore, the Bhagavān made the repetitive statement, "the Gnosis Body, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the true, perfect Buddha."

Here, someone will wonder: "The Gnosis Body that is the subject of the tantra does not possess form. And doesn't the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals possess form? Why did the Bhagavān say 'the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals'?" Therefore, I shall discuss this. Here indeed, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals that is the subject of the tantra, that foolish people say possesses form, does not. Here, from the point of view of the definitive meaning, the word 'lotus' expresses the space element. (Bu 386) Sentient beings dwell like lotus petals in that lotus space element, by means of the far-reaching nature

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consisting of clear light separate from elaboration, is "gnosis." Since he consists of the profound and vast, he "holds the mode of nonduality." Since he does not have even the conceptual thought of ultimate gnosis, he is "without conceptual thought." Because of the bliss of enjoying the five sense objects, he does not engage in the conceptual thought of effort; thus, he is "spontaneous." There are "three times" due to the divisions of the three samadhis - daytime, night time, and the junctions. The three "Bodies of the perfect Buddhas" that rightly appear in the three times are the Dharma Body, Enjoyment Body, and Emanation Body.]

I have translated NS 99b following MS B, which agrees with Davidson's edition: tryadhvasaṃbuddhakāryakṛt. N:-kāryadhṛg; D: -kāyadhṛk (so Davidson's MS A); Bu: sku 'chang ba.

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of the hundred families.[44] The Bhagavān, whose hundred eyes are spread[45] to the limit of those lotus petals, is the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals.

Here, the Bhagavān stated this in the sixth verse[46] of the Nāmasaṃgīti's "Praise to the Mirror-like Gnosis." Like this:

> A blazing vajra with dreadful eyes, his head hair is a blazing vajra. A vajra possession, a great possession, hundred-eyed, vajra-eyed.//(NS 73)[47]

(D 25a) Because of this statement of the Bhagavān, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals, the true, perfect Buddha, the Bhagavān, is separate from form.

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[44] [Rwa says: "The sentient beings who abide by means of the vast nature of the hundred families, the lotus petals..."]

[45] āyatana; rgyas pa. Cf. āyatana; skye mched.

[46] This is the seventh verse, not the sixth, in the "Mirror-like Gnosis" section of NS.

[47] [He is equal to a mirror prognostic due to the blazing of the caṇḍālī of gnosis. Thus, he is "a blazing vajra." Due to seeing great bliss by means of his "eyes" - the eye of flesh and so forth - he is "dreadful." Because the great bliss of indivisibility has extended into his uṣnīṣa, "his head hair is a blazing vajra." The one who gives the mahāmudrā initiation to the three realms is "vajra." It is "a possession" because one shakes, throbs, and so forth due to the blockage of udāna and apāna. It is "a great possession" because great bliss pervades all existents. Since it is the gnosis that experiences bliss, the excellent thing to be realized, separate from evil views, it is "hundred-eyed." Since it sees an indestructible vision of the universe by means of the eye of flesh and so forth, it is "vajra-eyed."]

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That Buddha is sitting on the lion throne. The lion throne is the space element; moreover, the lion throne is the mandala of moon, sun, and fire. The one sitting on that is the one sitting on the lion throne.

Here, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:

In various tantras I speak of Vajrī sitting in the E, in the mystery, in the space element, in the vulva, in the source of phenomena, in the lotus, or on the lion throne.//(1)

(U 40; Bu 387) I use the names VAṂ, Vajrī, Vajrasattva, Vajrabhairava, Īśvara, Heruka, Kālacakra, Ādibuddha, and so forth.//(2)

Using the terms of various lands, in accordance with the dispositions of various sentient beings, I speak of the characteristic of the base - the place - and also of the based.//(3)

Sucandra, you requested instruction from the Omniscient One, the Bearer of the Vajra, the Teacher, the Buddha sitting on the lion throne, the Teacher of the Kalācakra.//(4)[48]

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[48] [(1) The base (ādhāra; rten) is "E" in the Samāja; "mystery" in the Saṃvara; "space element" in the Pañjara; "vulva" in the Hevajra; "lotus" in the Yogānuviddha; and "lion throne" in the Ādibuddha. (2) The based (ādheya; brten pa), i.e., "Vajrī," is "VAṂ" in the Samāja; "Vajrabhairava" in the Yogānuviddha; and "Heruka" in the Saṃvara.] (These four verses are also cited in the Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 4.)

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Therefore, he is the Omniscient One, the Bhagavān Buddha. He teaches the worldly and transcendental Dharma. He is the Teacher of gods, demons, and men. He is supremely compassionate and spontaneously affectionate. He is definitely liberated from all obscurations.

Thus, the Bhagavān Buddha, the Omniscient One, is the Teacher of even Hari, Hara, and so forth. There is no one else at all who uses limitless utterances simultaneously to teach the worldly and transcendental Dharma to limitless sentient beings in the cosmoses of a great

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Note: Compare verses 1 & 2 with the following verses appearing in chapter 58 of the Vajramālā:

/e ni gsang ba'i mkha' dbyings sam/
/bha ga cho 'byung pad ma la/
/rnal 'byor seng ge'i gdan la bzhugs/
/mchog tu rmad byung ston par mdzad//

/rdo rje sems dpa' baṃ rdo rje/
/rdo rje 'jigs byed dbang phyug dang/
/he ru ka dang dus 'khor lo/
/dang po sangs rgyas la sogs mtshan//

(Peking #82; vol. 3, 226/1/4-5; TC 434 reproduces these two verses with seemingly superior readings.) I suspect these verses are interpolated in the Vajramālā and that their source is the Vimalaprabhā passage translated above. If these verses are original to the Vajramālā, then we find the Ādibuddha concept linked with the Kālacakra long before the system appeared openly: the Vajramālā, a vyākhyātantra to the Guhyasamāja, is already cited by Nāgārjuna in his Pañcakrama, e.g., II.16-24. For an interesting discussion of the formation of the Vajramālā and the other Guhyasamāja vyākhyātantras, see Matsunaga (1964) & (1977b:XXIX-XXX); de Jong (1984:108-111). (N.B.: Matsunaga refers to these texts as "ākhyānatantras." The correct form is "vyākhyātantra"; cf. Pañcakrama I.9d, 12, 16, 27; Pradīpodyotana 2, 10, 11, 13, etc.)

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trichiliocosm. Since they (Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc.) were born in the single, parochial birth as a god, and since they speak the single, parochial Sanskrit, they do not demonstrate the worldly and transcendental Dharma using the omniscient language that teaches sentient beings having various inclinations each in their own language.

(Bu 388) Here in the world of mortals one can plainly see that the dharmas they taught using the Sanskrit language - the Gītа, the Siddhānta, and the Purāṇas - are all parochial.[49] And so are the four Vedas, because (only) the brahmans and kshatriyas study the Vedas. Here, it is said: "Brahmans and kshatriyas should study the Vedas, but vaisyas, sudras, and so forth should not." Likewise, it is said: "The four castes - brahmans, kshatriyas, vaisyas, and sudras - should listen to the dharmas of the Gītа, the Siddhānta, and the Purāṇas from the mouths of the brahmans and should take up the mendicant's life; fishermen and so forth should not." Because of these statements prohibiting access to dharma,

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[49] [(These texts are:) Viṣṇu's dharma the (Bhagavad)"gītа," the Śaiva-"siddhānta," and "the Purāṇas" (sngon rabs) - the Purāṇas (lo rgyus) of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu and so forth.]

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the dharmas taught by those (gods) are parochial; they do not benefit all sentient beings.[50]

Here in the land of morals, using the parochial Sanskrit language those (gods) are unable to teach the worldly and transcendental Dharma to sentient beings having various inclinations by means of their various utterances. (D 25b) For this reason they prohibit the vaisyas, sudras, and so forth, saying: "Here in the land of mortals, vaisyas, sudras, and so forth, those born into degraded wombs, should not study the Vedas and should not take up the mendicant's life and the staff."[51]

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[50] [(Annotations to this paragraph:) "Brahmans and kshatriyas" are the castes that take up the mendicant's life and chant the Vedas. "Kshatriyas" are heroic and protect the realm. "Vaisyas" trade and so forth, and have excellent wealth. "Sudras" perform lowly work such as farming. Gyi and Ma say: "...fishermen and so forth do not take up the mendicant's life." 'Bro says: "...should take up the mendicant's life from the mouths of the brahmans and should grasp the staff, fishermen and so forth should not."] Note: Bu (i.e., Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan's translation) reads: "...fishermen and so forth should not because they do not take up the mendicant's life." Bu ston's dissatisfaction with Shong ston's translation is evident from his note giving the alternate translations of Gyi and Ma, and 'Bro. My translation follows MSS and is basically in accord with 'Bro, but 'Bro's "and should grasp the staff" is not in MSS.

Generally, all twice-born castes, i.e., including the vaisyas, were allowed to study the Vedas. Cf. Apte 68, s.v. adhyayanam. Puṇḍarīka seems to be attacking an extremely conservative position here.

[51] [They should not take up the Vaiṣṇava discipline of the wooden "staff," the (Śaiva) trident, and so forth.]

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Those who are overwhelmed with perverse pride believe: "A single word well-composed yields one's desires in heaven,"[52] because they do not possess the omniscient language. (Bu 389)

"Here in the world of mortals, if all people, sudras and so forth, know the Vedas, the Gītа, the Siddhānta, dialectics, the treatises, and so forth, who will revere the brahmans? For everyone would understand science, dharma, and gnosis, and all the householder brahmans addicted to samsaric pleasures would have no special qualities." Knowing this, vicious sages greedy for property used the Sanskrit language to write down in books the dharmas of the Gītа, the Siddhānta, the Purāṇas, and so forth. Also, they made the rule that, "The Vedas must be studied through oral recitation." This was done out of a wish to not teach them so that all could know; it has produced great ignorance among the foolish people. Here, it is said: "In former times, when the dharmas of the Vedas, the Gītа, the Siddhānta, and Purāṇas were not written down in books, they dwelt in the mouths of ascetics. Then, due to the power of the time of the five

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[52] Upadhyaya has identified this as Mahābhārata 6.1.84.

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decays,[53] the ascetics wrote them down in books because their wisdom was inferior."

(U 41) Here, Buddhists should not admire the parochial dharmas taught by Hari, Hara, and so forth. They give samsaric suffering. They produce perverse pride. They have the arrogance of racism.[54]

Here in the three realms, the Omniscient One taught the Dharmas using the omniscient language, (Bu 390) and the redactors wrote them down in books using the different languages of various sentient beings. These Dharmas demonstrate the Vedas and so forth - worldly aims. They demonstrate the aims of the three vehicles. They were taught from the point of view of worldly, phenomenal truth, and from the point of view of ultimate truth.[55] They were taught so that all sentient beings could listen to them and study them. Sentient beings inclined towards

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[53] ["The time of the five decays" (i.e., the kaliyuga) is the age that is 1) strife-ridden, 2) lifespan is short, decreasing from one hundred years, 3) sentient beings have few merits, 4) their passions are extremely fierce, and 5) there are the sixty-two evil views, and so forth.] Cf. the more standard list of five in Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 3; Davidson (1981:43 [n. 3]).

[54] ["Racist" (jātivāda; rigs su smra ba) means they say that the races are really fundamentally different by the force of the wombs (they are born into) - brahman and so forth.]

[55] lokasaṃvṛtisatya; 'jig rten kun rdzob bden pa, & paramārthasatya; don dam pa'i bden pa.

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that listen to these eighty-four thousand aggregates of Dharma taught by the Omniscient One that demonstrate worldly and transcendental aims. They read them. They have them recited and maintained. Also, they have them extensively and properly elucidated to others. They have them consecrated, and they have them worshipped with various flowers, various incenses, various scents [perfumes that are mixtures of good scents], various aromatic powders [piles of aromatic medicaments made into powders], various fabrics, various mirrors, various bells, various banners, various yak-tail fans, various umbrellas, various canopies, various strings of pearls, various jewels, various lamps, and various precious ornaments. (D 26a) Then, having had them worshipped, they bow down to them with their five limbs.[56]

Thus, these Dharmas the Omniscient One taught benefit others in accordance with their inclinations. In order to benefit others, the Tathāgata did not prescribe them for some due to their [good] race and prohibit them to some due to their [bad] race. They still have not disappeared.

Consider the differences in the different lands for a moment. Here in the land of the Aryans where the Tathāgata obtained highest, perfect Buddhahood, when the

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[56] I.e., the usual four plus the head.

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Bhagavān had passed into complete nirvana the redactors wrote down the three vehicles in volumes. (Bu 391) In accordance with the precept of the Tathāgata, they used the language of Magadha and the language of Sindhu for the Tripiṭaka. They used the Sanskrit language for the sutras. For the pāramitā system and the various tantras in the mantra system they used the Sanskrit language, the Prakrit language, the Apabhraṃśa language, and the non-sanskritic barbarian languages - the aboriginal languages and so forth. The redactors wrote down these as well as other Dharmas taught by the Omniscient One.[57]

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[57] [This accords with the Indian manuscripts: "They used the Sanskrit language for the pāramitā system. In the mantra system..." Ma says: "They used the language of Magadha and the language of Sindhu for the Tripiṭaka of the Tathāgata's precepts. They used the Sanskrit language for the sutras and so forth. For the pāramitā system and the various tantras of the mantra system..." Rwa and Gyi accord with Ma. 'Bro is somewhat in accord with Shong. "Sanskrit" is the language of the gods; it is "well-composed" (saṃskṛta; legs par sbyar ba) due to the characteristics of its radicals (prakṛti), terminations (pratyaya) and modifications (vikriyā). "The Prakrit language" is that of the middle country (i.e., North-central India). "The Apabhraṃśa language" is that whose words are corrupt.]

Bu (i.e., Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan's translation) reads: "They used the language of Magadha for the Tripiṭaka. They used the language of Sindhu for the sutras. They used the Sanskrit language for the pāramitā system and the mantra system. For the various tantras they used the Sanskrit language, the Prakrit language...," etc. Bu ston's dissatisfaction with Shong ston's translation is obvious from the effort he made to compare the available MSS and translations. My own translation differs from both Tibetan translations to a greater or lesser extent, but I follow Ma et al on the most

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Likewise, in the land of Tibet (boṭa; bod) the three vehicles were written down using the Tibetan language; in China (cīna; rgya nag) using the language of China; in Mahācīna (rgya nag chen po) using the language of Mahācīna; in the country of Persia (pārasika; pā ra si ka) using the Persian language. North of the Śītā River they were written down using the language of the land of Campaka (tsam pa ka), the language of the land of Vānara (spre'u), and the language of the land called "Suvarṇa" (suvarṇākhya; gser zhes bya ba). Likewise, north of the Nīlā River (sngon po) they were written down using the language of the land called "Rukma" and the language of the land of Surammā.[58] Thus, they were written down in

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problematic point - the syntax.

The Sanskrit of this passage from our MS N was published long ago by Shāstri (1917:77-78). However, apart from a mention of it by Dasgupta (1950:53), no one seems to have studied it.

[58] ["Rukma" (rug ma) is called "*Strī" (btsun mo). Ma says: "In the land of Surammā, the language of Rammā." (ma/ shin tu dga' ba'i yul du ni dga' ba'i skad zer ro/)]

MSS N & B (emendation) read: "and the language of the land of Surammā, north of the place called 'Himavat'." U, MS D, and Bu omit himavatakhyottare. I think this is an interpolation in N, and that someone at the Asiatic Society of Bengal has "corrected" B in accordance with N. I have noted other instances of this phenomenon.

Sanskrit rukma means "golden"; suvarṇa means "gold." Hsuan-tsang identifies Suvarṇagotra, a land producing excellent gold, with the eastern "Kingdom of Women" (Beal 1884:1.199). Tucci (1971:549, 551) refers to Cīna, Suvarṇabhūmi/Suvarṇakuṭi, and Strīrājya as regions in the western Himalayas. Stein (1972:35, 86-87) mentions Suvarṇagotra and Strīrājya. Hoffmann (1975:35) says:

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the ninety-six lands, each consisting of ten million villages, using the languages of the ninety-six lands.

Likewise, the redactors wrote down the three vehicles in the twelve sections (of the earth), and in heaven, the land of mortals, and the underworld, using the utterances of various sentient beings. Śrāvakas wrote down the śrāvaka vehicle. Pratyekas wrote down the pratyeka vehicle. (Bu 392) Bodhisattvas wrote down the pāramitā Mahāyāna and the mantra Mahāyāna that consist of cause and effect. The various redactors did this in order to train sentient beings. Considering it with this reasoning of the transmission of the scriptures written by various redactors using the languages of various lands, the Bhagavān Buddha, the Omniscient One, teaches the Dharma using the omniscient language, but others, Hari, Hara, and so forth, do not.

However, if someone among Hari, Hara, and so forth is fully endowed with these good qualities, we should salute, worship, and honor him also, in all ways.

"Later Buddhist sources [the Vimalaprabhā?] also mention the existence of a "Gold Country" in this part of the world (Suvarṇagotra or Rukmadeśa)..." Beckwith (1977:149 & n. 208) identifies the "Women's Kingdom" with rGa rong/rGyal mo rong in western Tibet, and Suvarṇagotra with the Kargil area between Skardo and Leh.

I have not identified Campaka, Vānara, the Nīlā River, or Surammā. The Śītā River, as noted above, is the Tarim in Eastern Turkistan.

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(U 42) Sadhus are devoted to good qualities, not to Buddha, Īśvara, and so forth. Devotion to those without good qualities is idiocy born from non-virtuous karma.//(1) (D 26b)

Even ordinary people teach Dharmas that benefit sentient beings. Scholars teach dharmas that harm sentient beings, saying, "It pleases me; it displeases me."//(2)

In the world of the cannibal demonesses a mother even thinks to eat her own son. How will one who is merciless towards her own offspring act towards another man?//(3) (Bu 393)

When brahmans engrossed in their own aims speak of patricide and matricide as dharma - as a means of sacrifice and so forth - then need one tell what they would do to others?//(4)[59]

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[59] [(1) Ma says: "Noble ones are devoted to those possessing good qualities." "Sadhus are devoted" to the Omniscient One and to one who teaches the Dharma using the omniscient language - who possesses the "good qualities" that accomplish the aims of oneself and others. If they do not possess good qualities, they "are not" devoted to those renowned as great persons - "Buddha, Īśvara," Brahmā, "and so forth." Due to "devotion" to Viṣṇu, Īśvara, and so forth - who are "without good qualities" that achieve the two aims - some perform sacrificial killing in order to worship them. Even if they are held to be wise, "they are idiots born from non-virtuous karma." (2) The scholars' altruism is even less than that of ordinary people. The reason for this is that those held to be "scholars" are "pleased" at their own side, the one that they accept, and are "displeased" at other sides.

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Therefore, it is well known from the Paramādibuddha that the Omniscient One, the Bhagavān Buddha who is compassionate towards all sentient beings, is the Omniscient One who taught the Dharma by means of all utterances; and likewise, that Vajrapāṇi Sucandra, the lord of the tenth stage, requested it and redacted it.

The Fourth Brief Account: Establishing the Teacher and the Requestor of the King of Tantra by means of "The Omniscient One," and so forth. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra Following the Basic Tantra.

Thus, they do not teach that which benefits "sentient beings," they "teach" injury and "harm." Ma says: "Scholars are not pleased at that which teaches harm to oneself and sentient beings." Rwa says: "If one teaches by means of what pleases and does not please, it harms sentient beings." (3) For example: if "a mother even thinks to" kill and "eat her own son," need it be said that she "who is merciless to her own offspring" is merciless to "another man?" (Bu 393) (4) Likewise, "when brahmans" held to be wise, "engrossed in their own aims, speak of murdering" their own "fathers and mothers as dharma - as a means of sacrifice and so forth - then need one say" that they would murder "other" men?]

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The Fifth Brief Account: A Summary of the Teacher and so forth

A Summary of the Vajrayoga

Now I shall discuss a summary of the vajrayoga. (Śrī Kālacakra I.1d) says: "yoga in the Śrī Kālacakra" and so forth.

Here in the mantra system, the Bhagavān Buddha, relying on worldly and transcendental truth, specified two types of meaning in the various tantras. He specified one in accordance with worldly phenomenal truth, the second in accordance with ultimate (truth).

Regarding that, provisional meaning is specified in accordance with worldly phenomenal (truth). Definitive meaning is specified in accordance with ultimate (truth). Disciples should understand those two meanings from the oral instructions of gurus.

Likewise, in all the various tantras the subject is of two types: one is in accordance with worldly phenomenal (truth), the second is in accordance with ultimate (truth). (Bu 394) That which is in accordance with worldly phenomenal (truth) is characterized by color, arms, symbols, and shape. That which is in accordance with ultimate truth is devoid of color, arms, symbols, and shape.

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Among these two, that which is taught in accordance with worldly phenomenal (truth) is a phenomenon imagined by one's own mind, in order to achieve worldly siddhis in the Outer and Inner - it gives the result of the worldly siddhis.

That which is taught in accordance with ultimate truth is devoid of phenomena imagined by one's own mind in order to achieve the transcendental mahāmudrā siddhi that possesses the best of all aspects. Like a maiden's prognostic image[1] in a mirror and so forth, the clear light of the yogis' own minds appears manifest in the sky.

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[1] pratisenā; pra phab pa. For discussion of this term, which does not appear in the Sanskrit lexicons, see Newman (1988 appendix).

["Like a maiden's prognostic image in a mirror," water, eye, thumb, lamp, "and so forth."] This annotation is based on references to the otherwise unknown Pratisenāvatāra-tantra (Pra dbab pa la 'jug pa'i rgyud): (1) Naro refers to this text in his Paramārthasaṃgrahaḥ (S) 49; (T) 124/5/7-8. (2) The anonymous Sekoddeśapañjikā translated by Bu ston cites a verse from the Pratisenāvatāra-tantra (Peking #2071; vol. 47, 160/2/4). (3) Bu ston cites the same verse in a translation that differs significantly from that given in the Sekoddeśapañjikā (sNying po snang ba'i 'od zer 277). Unfortunately, the lists of types of prognostication given in these sources are difficult to reconcile. All purport to give eight types, but list the eight somewhat differently. The list should probably be reconstructed as follows: mirror, sword, thumb, lamp, moon, sun, water-well (udakakuṇḍa chu dang thabs), and eye. (I take udakakuṇḍa as a tatpuruṣa, not as a dvandva as the Tibetans do.) For another mention of eight types of prognostication, see above Vimalaprabhā I.1.35b.

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It gives the result of the desired aim. The result is the gnostic mind of unchanging bliss.

The unity of these two minds - the one consisting of wisdom and method, (U 43) the vajrayoga, the great aim, the supreme unchanging, the Ādibuddha without partiality, Bhagavān Kālacakra - is renowned in all the various tantras as Vajrasattva.[2] (D 27a) This very Bhagavān is called "the Nature Body" in the Prajñāpāramitā - in the pāramitā system that is characterized as the cause.[3]

Likewise, Maitreya said that (the Buddha Bodies) are ascertained to be four, [the three Bodies] together with Activity, (Bu 395) in this verse of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra:

> The Nature [Body] together with the Enjoyment [Body], likewise the other Emanation [Body; these three are] the Dharma Body. Together with Activity [- Buddha Activity, the fourth -] it is rightly said to be fourfold.// (Abhisamayālaṃkāra I.18)[4]

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[2] ["These two minds" are taught in accordance with phenomenal and ultimate (truth): one possesses the characteristics of color and shape; (the other) is devoid of color and shape. Alternately, they are the cause-non-objectified emptiness endowed with the best of all aspects, and the effect - unchanging bliss.]

[3] [It is "characterized as the cause" because it chiefly teaches emptiness endowed with the best of all aspects.]

[4] Bu ston's annotations on this verse represent the three-kāya theory favored by the Sakya tradition (following Ārya Vimuktasena and other Indian scholars).

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This very Bhagavān is called "connate joy" and "the Connate Body" in the mantra system that is characterized as the effect.[5] The definitive meaning is: "It has abandoned object and subject, it is beyond the consciousness reality, it is not localized in existence or nirvana, it is the assembly of the Buddhas as well as the congregation of the goddesses, it is the nature of being the same taste together with this Gnosis Body."

Here, vajrayoga is without partiality; it has abandoned eternity and annihilation. It has gone beyond worldly examples. It has thoroughly forsaken intellection of existence and nonexistence. Like a prognostic in a maiden's mirror, it is not imagined by one's own mind. It is directly seen; an object of confidence. It is all aspects; it originates from the sky. It is completely good.[6] It is the complete faculty.[7] It dwells in the

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Another school of exegesis (following Haribhadra) interprets this verse as teaching four kāyas: svābhāvika, dharma, saṃbhoga, and nirmāṇa. (John Makransky is currently studying this subject for his doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin - Madison; I am indebted to him for the preceding information.) Given Puṇḍarīka's discussion here and elsewhere in the Vimalaprabhā, he seems to follow the four-kāya theory.

[5] [It "is characterized as the effect" because it chiefly teaches non-objectifying compassion - the unchanging bliss.]

[6] [Rwa, 'Bro, Ma, (and MSS) had this samantabhadra in their Indian manuscripts; it is omitted in the manuscript this translation is based on.]

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self of all sentient beings; it is connate joy. It has abandoned logical reason and example.

Since it is heterogeneous, the identity of existent and nonexistent serves as an example for this vajrayoga in order to destroy all grasping at sides in the yogis.[8] It is like the worldly example: "Since it is heterogeneous with 'pot' [that exists as an existent], 'sky-flower' does not exist, because it is entirely nonexistent. (Bu 395) Likewise, since it is heterogeneous with 'sky-flower,' 'pot' exists, because it is entirely existent." Since these two are mutually heterogeneous, they are an example [of heterogeneous things being ultimately identical].

Likewise, since it is heterogeneous with annihilation [nirvana], existence [samsara] exists, because it is entirely existent. Since it is heterogeneous with existence [samsara], annihilation does not exist, because it is entirely nonexistent. The word 'annihilation' indicates nirvana [that is the exhaustion of the five aggregates] - the characteristic of the nonexistent.[9]

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[7] [It sees the entire meaning of everything.]

[8] [(Bu reads:) The ultimate "unity of existent and nonexistent is an example for this vajrayoga because" existence and nonexistence are mutually "heterogeneous."]

[9] [The heterogeneous existence negates nonexistence; the heterogeneous nonexistence negates existence. Having done this, the two are established as a single taste without being ultimately either existence, nonexistence,

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Likewise, the identity of these two, the pot and the sky-flower, is an example of the transcendent because it is heterogeneous.

These two, the pot and the sky-flower, are not identical for worldly phenomenal (truth) because they are mutually contradictory. For, due to the nature of existent and nonexistent, that which exists does not not exist, and that which does not exist does not exist. Since it is contradictory, that which makes mind characterized by existence does not make it characterized by nonexistence; that which makes mind characterized by nonexistence does not make it characterized by existence.

Here also, the divine image that consists of emptiness and compassion - the pure mind that is like a maiden's prognostic image - is not characterized by form [i.e., existence, it is heterogeneous with existence,] because it does not have particles. (D 27b) It is not characterized by formlessness [i.e., nonexistence, it is heterogeneous with nonexistence,] because it exists in the void.[10]

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or both.]

[10] [It being nonexistent because it has passed beyond the heterogeneous particles establishes the void. It being existent because it exists in the void establishes it phenomenally.]

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(Bu 397) Therefore, the phenomenal possesses the form of emptiness, and emptiness possesses the form of the phenomenal. Since it has gone beyond worldly examples, the mind that exists is non-mind: it is free from the characteristics of eternal and annihilated phenomena, it is indivisible emptiness and compassion.[11] Since both minds are heterogeneous from the point of view of ultimate truth, vajrayoga has gone beyond existence and nonexistence, has exhausted existent and nonexistent; it is nondual because the speech of the Tathāgata is without partiality.[12]

Here, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:

(U 44) Passed beyond [ka] existence and [ga] nonexistence, the exhaustion of [nga] existent and nonexistent, nondual [kha] is indivisible emptiness and compassion, the vajrayoga, the great bliss.//(1)

Beyond [ka] atomic reality, abandoned [ga] void phenomena, liberated from [kha] eternal and [nga] annihilation, is the vajrayoga without partiality.//(2)

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[11] ["The mind that exists" in the void "is non-mind" because it has passed beyond particles.]

[12] ["Since both" existent and nonexistent "minds are heterogeneous"..."existence" negates nonexistence "and nonexistence" negates existence. Thus, "vajrayoga has gone beyond" existence and nonexistence. It is "nondual" (without the two:) existence and nonexistence.]

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Likewise, the Tathāgata said in various tantras that vajrayoga gives the mahāmudrā siddhi.

This pure vajrayoga, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment, the noble great aim, the supreme unchanging, the connate joy, does not abide in the desire existence.[13] It does not abide in the [sixteen] form existences. It does not abide in the [four] formless existences. It does not abide in the desire nirvana [- the annihilation that is the abandonment of the desire realm]. (Bu 398) It does not abide in the form nirvana [- the nirvana without residue, or annihilation, that is the abandonment of the form realm]. It does not abide in the formless nirvana [- the abandonment of the formless realm]. For, it is not localized in existence or nirvana. It does not abide in both because they are mutually contradictory.

Like shadow and sun, existence and nirvana are not identical. For example, fire does not abide in the base of the fire-drill. It does not abide in the fire-drill. It does not abide in the effort of the person's hand.[14]

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[13] [It "does not abide" by means of the relation of base and based "in the" eleven "desire existences," or else it does not abide by means of that which is not reality.]

[14] "The base of the fire-drill": araṇi; gtsub stan, cf. MW 86. "The fire-drill": śarakāṇḍa; gtsub shing usage not attested in Skt. lexicons; cf. Vimalaprabhā I.1.51c

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Likewise, the yogi should realize the vajrayoga everywhere in the Outer, Inner, and Other.[15]

Here, the so-called highest, perfect enlightenment in one moment is a moment of supreme unchanging great bliss. This highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment is the person developing[16] all the moments through to the end of the count of the breaths. Then, the highest, perfect Buddhahood in that moment of completion is the true, perfect Buddha.

Here, after that moment of completion [of the twenty-one thousand, six hundred supreme unchanging moments] in which all Tathāgatas obtain highest, perfect Buddhahood, all phenomena do not originate, do not abide, and do not disintegrate, for they are without partiality.

Here, during the moment all phenomena originate they do not abide and do not disintegrate. Here, during the moment they abide they do not disintegrate and do not originate. Here, during the moment all phenomena disintegrate they do not originate and do not abide. Thus, according to sequence, all phenomena do not

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above. For the image of fire production, cf. Guhyasamāja prose following 9.20; and Hevajra II.iii.37.

15 bāhya; phyi. adhyatmana; nang. para; gzhan.

16 vibhāvaka; rnam par sgom pa po. Cf. Davidson (1981:35 [n. 114]); NS 141bc.

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momentarily originate, momentarily abide, and momentarily disintegrate. Also, it is impossible that this be simultaneous: the moments of origination, abiding, and disintegration are not identical at a single time in which all phenomena occur. (D 28a; Bu 399)

However, you might say: According to sequence, the moment of abiding arises from the moment of origination; the moment of disintegration arises from the moment of abiding; and the moment of origination arises from the moment of disintegration. But this irrelevant from the point of view of reasoning about the ultimate: Here, another moment does not arise from a former obstructed moment; likewise, it does not arise from an unobstructed moment. For example, a sprout does not arise from a spoiled seed, and a sprout does not arise from an unspoiled seed.

Thus, since ultimate being does not exist, there is no one moment, because one and many are contradictory.

Here, that "highest, perfect Buddhahood in one moment, the person developing all the moments" (NS 141cb) is the first highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of a moment of supreme unchanging bliss for the person developing the twenty-one thousand, six hundred moments of supreme unchanging bliss. After that, the supreme nondual yoga of the Buddhas is devoid of all moments, is separate

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from one and many, because ultimately it is separate from being and non-being. As long as there is worldly being phenomena are discriminated by means of one and many because of the appearance of momentary mind. When mind is separate from momentary phenomena it is called "void of own-being."[17]

(Bu 400) Therefore, the Bhagavān said that the side void of own-being is without side. The so-called 'side' is: "existent and nonexistent; being and non-being; is and is not; one and not-one; eternity and annihilation; existence and nirvana; form and non-form; sound and non-sound; moment and non-moment; lust and non-lust; hatred and non-hatred; (U 45) nescience and non-nescience." These and others are side (pakṣa; phyogs) because they are mutually dependent (apekṣika; ltos pa dang bcas pa). The Buddhas' non-localized nirvana that is separate from this side is void of own-being. Gnosis separate from moments one and many is called "reality" by the Jinas.

That (reality) appears fourfold, and also in sixteen aspects, in accordance with the dispositions of sentient

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[17] niḥsvabhāva; rang bzhin med pa. Naro gives an excellent, succinct definition of emptiness in the Paramārthasaṃgraha (S) 5; (T) 107/2/3: tatra svabhāvābhāvataḥ śūnyaṃ tasya śūnyasya bhāvaḥ śūnyatā; /de la rang bzhin med pa nyid las stong pa ste/ stong pa de'i dngos po ni stong pa nyid do/. "The nonexistence of own-being is void. The existence of that void is emptiness."

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beings' own minds. It is fourfold according to the divisions (1) joy, (2) supreme, (3) special, and (4) connate.[18] Thus, [the four joys are:] (1) Body joy, (2) Speech joy, (3) Mind joy, (4) Gnosis joy; likewise, [the four supreme joys are:] (1) Body supreme joy, (2) Speech supreme joy, (3) Mind supreme joy, (4) Gnosis supreme joy; likewise, [the four special joys are:] (1) Body special joy, (2) Speech special joy, (3) Mind special joy, (4) Gnosis special joy; likewise, [the four connate joys are:] (1) Body connate joy, (2) Speech connate joy, (3) Mind connate joy, (4) Gnosis connate joy. (D 28b; Bu 401) When a yogi knows such a sixteen aspect reality, the Bhagavān calls him "a knower of the sixteen aspect reality" (NS 133b).

That very reality [i.e., nondual gnosis] is called "the Connate Body." Following that is the Dharma Body; following that, the Enjoyment Body; following that, the Emanation Body. Likewise, Connate Speech, Connate Mind, Connate Gnosis; Dharma Speech, Dharma Mind, Dharma Gnosis;

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[18] For discussion of these terms see: Snellgrove (1959a:34-35, 38, 134); Kvaerne (1975:109-115). Kvaerne (1975:111 [n. 101]) notes that vi- in the compound viramānanda is sometimes translated as khyad par gyi (khyad par gyi dga' ba), and taken as meaning viśiṣṭa, "special" or "extraordinary," and that -rama- is either untranslated, or regarded as synonymous with ānanda. This is in fact the case here in Bu. Other times viramānanda is translated as dga' bral gyi dga' ba, "the joy of separation from joy"; cf. Snellgrove (1959a:2.163).

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Enjoyment Speech, Enjoyment Mind, Enjoyment Gnosis; Emanation Speech, Emanation Mind, Emanation Gnosis. The sixteen aspect reality appears in accordance with the superior aspirations of sentient beings' minds.

That very Connate Body is "purified by the emptiness liberation, Gnosis Vajra, the Omniscient One, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the pure yoga."[19] That very Dharma Body is called, "purified by the signless liberation, Mind Vajra, Gnosis Body, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the self of phenomena yoga." That very Enjoyment Body is called, "purified by the wishless liberation, Speech Vajra, the Body of the Day-Maker Sun, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the mantra yoga." That very Emanation Body is called, "purified by the non-constructional liberation, Body Vajra, the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals, the one that consists of wisdom and method, the shape yoga." Vajrapāṇi asked the Buddha for such a four-fold vajrayoga as this. (Bu 402)

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[19] [Integration (yuganaddha; zung 'jug) consists of sixteen aspects. (1) Among the four resultant Bodies, (the Connate Body) is "the Connate Body"; (2) among the four path liberations, it is "purified by the emptiness liberation"; (3) among the four resultant Vajras, it is the "Gnosis Vajra"; (4) among the four words of the introduction (Śrī Kālacakra I.1a), it is "the Omniscient One" whose nature "consists of wisdom and method"; (5) among the four yogas, it is "the pure yoga."] Note: These categories apply to the three following Bodies as well.

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Regarding the one purified by the emptiness liberation, the Gnosis Vajra, the Connate Body that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained omniscience: it is the Omniscient One because it sees everything. Regarding the one purified by the signless liberation, the Mind Vajra, the Dharma Body that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained knowledge of the aspects of the path: it is the Gnosis Body because it abides by means of the supreme unchanging bliss. Regarding the one purified by the wishless liberation, the Speech Vajra, the Enjoyment Body that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained knowledge of the path: it is the Body of the Day-Maker Sun because it simultaneously teaches the worldly and transcendental Dharma by means of the utterances of limitless sentient beings. Regarding the one purified by the non-constructional liberation, the Body Vajra, the Emanation Body that consists of wisdom and method, the one that has obtained knowledge of all aspects: it is the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals because it simultaneously radiates the miracle of the array of the Body of all aspects by means of limitless Bodies.

Likewise, the highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of one moment is the Gnosis Vajra; it sees all objects. The highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of five aspects is

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the Mind Vajra - the supreme unchanging bliss. (D 29a) The highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of twenty aspects is the Speech Vajra; it is the twelve aspect true aim that teaches the Dharma by means of the utterances of all sentient beings. The highest, perfect Buddhahood by means of the net of illusion is the Body Vajra; it is the knower of the sixteen aspect reality, the Body radiated by limitless nets of illusion. (Bu 403)

Here, the purity of the fourfold [states of the] mind vajra is the characteristic of the four Bodies. The mind that is the nonexistent of the fourth mind that consists of the vulvaand penis anointed with the stain of tenacious lust is the Nature Body - "the Omniscient One." (U 46) The mind that is the nonexistent of the deep sleep mind overwhelmed by darkness is the Dharma Body - "the Gnosis Body." The mind that is the nonexistent of the being and non-being dream mind generated by prāṇa is the Enjoyment Body - "the Body of the Day-Maker Sun." the mind that is the nonexistent of the waking mind, the perception of the existents of many conceptual thoughts, is the Emanation Body - "the Eye of Spreading Lotus Petals."

I will explain this vajrayoga in detail in "The Chapter on Gnosis." Here in "The Chapter on the Cosmos" I have given a mere brief account. Thus, (Vajrapāṇi Sucandra) asked for [the subject -] the yoga that

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consists of Gnosis, Mind, Speech, and Body in the Śrī Kālacakra, the King of Tantra.

A Summary of the Dharma Teaching

Should you wonder what this (Śrī Kālacakra) is, it is the A collection that possesses the KA line.[20] Regarding "the A collection that possesses the KA line": The line of KA is the KA line - the letter KA and so forth, the consonant series. The letter KA should be known as the chief of all the consonants because it is specified at the first, or because it is the nature of menses. Likewise, the collection of A is the A collection - it is called "the fair of the vowels."

Here is the line of KA:

KA KHA GA GHA ṄA

CA CHA JA JHA ÑA

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[20] kaliyugasamaye; ka phreng ldan pa'i a 'dus la. This phrase is intentionally ambiguous. Kaliyugasamaye makes perfect sense when read literally as "in the period of the Kali Age." Indeed, mKhas grub (TC 601) says that the earlier Tibetan translators 'Bro, Tsa mi, Gyi jo, etc., translated it as rtsod ldan dus su, a faithful rendering of the literal meaning. However, as mKhas grub notes, Puṇḍarīka never even mentions the literal meaning (he hardly needed to!), and I follow the Vimalaprabhā (and Bu) in translating it according to the intended sense. Puṇḍarīka breaks the compound as kaliyug-asamaye, and indicates that is should be taken in apposition with śrīkālacakre, as I have translated above. Also, kali- should properly be kāli-, but the a has been shortened to fit the meaning and the metre.

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ṬA ṬHA ḌA ḌHA ṆA

PA PHA BA BHA MA

TA THA DA DHA NA

SA ḤPA ṢA ŚA ḤKA.

Such is the line of KA - the consonant series.

(Bu 404) Here is the collection of A:

A Ā I Ī Ṛ Ṝ U Ū Ḷ Ḹ AṂ AḤ E AI AR ĀR O AU AL ĀL HA HĀ YA YĀ RA RĀ VA VĀ LA LĀ. Such is the collection of A - the fair of the vowels.

Since the KA line is inserted in this A collection, it possesses the KA line. Sucandra asked for the subject that is the Kālacakra - the vajrayoga, the Ādibuddha that is the natural topic of the tantra - in that A collection that possesses the KA line: the Kālacakra discourse, the A etc. and the KA etc. consisting of wisdom and method, the yogatantra, the Ādibuddha without partiality.

The preceding is a summary of the Dharma teaching.

A Summary of the Purpose and the Ultimate Purpose

Now I shall discuss a summary of the purpose and the ultimate purpose. (Śrī Kālacakra I.1d says:) "for the liberation of humanity." Regarding 'for the liberation of humanity': First, achieving the aims of sentient beings by entering the mandala and so forth is the purpose. (D 29b) Also, the purpose is the achievement of worldly

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siddhi by means of the accumulation of merit, by the power of meditating on the forms of the mandala circle, by the power of the blessing meditation, and by means of the hero process and the blessing process.

Then, the most exalted, further purpose of that purpose is the ultimate purpose. Here, one meditates in the space element by means of a mind devoid of conceptual thought, by the signs smoke and forth, by means of mahāmudrā - the natural state of the divine image of the universe of all aspects. By means of this practice of supreme unchanging bliss, and by means of the accumulations of merit and gnosis, (one obtains) Buddhahood and Vajradharahood during this human life.

The preceding is a summary of the purpose and the ultimate purpose.

Past Buddhas taught this Paramādibuddha yoga. Present Buddhas are teaching it. (Bu 405) Future Buddhas will teach it. It has been, is being, and will be taught to the entourages of past, present, and future times, of past, present, and future occasions. Limitless Tathāgatas rightly taught it, are teaching it, and will teach it to limitless sentient beings in limitless Buddha fields so that (they may obtain) Buddhahood.

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The Fifth Brief Account: A Summary of the Teacher and so forth. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.

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The Sixth Brief Account: A Summary of the Mandalas, Initiations, and so forth.

(U 47) [The sixth topic:] Now, the lord of men Yaśas - the emanation body of the noble Bhagavān Mañjuśrī- being requested by Sūryaratha, stated Sucandra's request as the Tathāgata had prophesied in the Paramādibuddha. He did this with the second verse:

Śrī Kālacakra I.2

Void, also gnosis, drop, bearer of the best best thunderbolt; Buddhas, gods, and demons also; the soul that consists of the twenty-fifth among the natures in the Outer, in the body, also in the Other; the measurements of the universe in the body; the arrangement of the three existences; the enjoyments of gods and demons; the mandalas; and the initiations - rightly explain this, guru of gods and men!//[1]

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[1] [It is called "the soul (puruṣa; skyes bu) that consists of the twenty-fifth" because it abides like a man (skyes bu) who has reached twenty-five years of age. "Gods" (tridaśa; skabs gsum pa) is an expression for 'gods.' Since other than the three states of birth, sickness, and death they do not have the (fourth) state of old age, they are called "three-state" (skabs gsum pa).] Note: Bu takes tridaśa ("the thirty [gods]") in pāda d as tridaśā ("three-state"); this is plausible metri causa. Either way I would translate the expression as "gods."

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Here, the Bhagavān stated the verse of request in order to summarize the five syllable great void, the six syllable drop void (NS 144cd), the six families, and so forth. (Bu 406) Thus, I shall expatiate this. Here, when I have first elucidated the hidden meaning of the tantra by means of the verse of request - "void" and so forth - [the meaning of the tantra] that will be discussed [below] will become intelligible to those who have the minds of children. Thus, at the beginning of the commentary I should express an epitome.

(D 30a) Here, the terms "void" and so forth elucidate the invisible and visible existents that are (respectively) not within the range of the ephemeral sense faculties and are within the range of the ephemeral sense faculties. Since terms always precede nonbeing and being, nonexistent and existent, we use designations like 'sky-flower' and so forth, and 'pot' and so forth.

Here, the nonexistent denoted by the term 'sky-flower' is not an existent. Likewise, the existent denoted by the term 'pot' does not have the characteristic of the nonexistent, because it is expressed by its own term.

Likewise, the Tathāgata specified, and the redactors also wrote down, (various) existents in the various tantras using the terms of the treatises, terms of the

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vernacular, terms of the mantra syllables, and terms of the individual syllables. Yogis should understand all of these in accordance with the provisional meaning and the definitive meaning.[2]

Here, there are various terms for even a single nonexistent and existent.[3] (Bu 407) Therefore, yogis should not form a terminological concept about even a single existent that is specified by various terms. For, thoroughly examining the noble guru's instructions, like gold, is relying on the meaning.[4]

Here, these fourteen syllables: "void, also gnosis, drop, bearer of the best thunderbolt" (Śrī Kālacakra I.2a) summarizes this person of the great soul that consists of

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[2] [They use "terms" renowned in "the treatises" such as 'three-state' for 'god'; "terms of the vernacular" language such as canta for cantapa (?); "terms of the mantra syllables" such as "lotus vessel" for 'skull'; "and terms of the individual syllables" such as "laḍa" for 'man,' and "laḍi" for 'woman.'] For "lotus vessel" as saṃdhyābhāṣā for "skull" see Hevajra II.iii.58b.

[3] [It is good if one translates ihaikābhavabhavasya ca nānāsaṃjñā (sic) as 'dir gcig la yang dngos po med pa dang dngos po'i ming sna tshogs te.] Bu reads: 'dir gcig dang dngos po med pa la yang ming sna tshogs te. Skt.: ihaikasyâpy abhāvasya bhāvasya ca nānāsaṃjñāḥ. mKhas grub (TC 608) cites the translation of dPang: 'dir dngos po med pa dang dngos po gcig la yang ming sna tshogs te. My translation follows Skt. and dPang.

[4] This sentence refers to the first of the four pratisaraṇas (cf. Mhvy 1545-1549), and the simile of examining gold (cf. Tattvasaṃgraha 3587).

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the six elements by means of the terms 'void' and so forth.

(I) Like this:

(1) the gnosis aggregate,

(2) the consciousness aggregate,

(3) the gnosis element,

(4) the space element,

(5) mind,

(6) ear,

(7) sound,

(8) the sphere of phenomena,

(9) the vulva,

(10) urination,

(11) the divine organ,

(12) ejaculation.

Their quality of being devoid of obscuration, of having the same taste, and of being a unified mixture is called "void." It is not totally nonexistent because the yogi knows it himself. The Jinas call that indestructible. The emblem of the term for this indestructible is a mere picture, unpronounceable, having the aspect of a cleaver in the middle of south, north, east, and west. This is the first syllable of great void.

(III) Following that, it says "also gnosis." The word 'also' here is indicated for the sake of aggregation

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because it demonstrates the meaning of aggregation. By this term "gnosis" one should understand "the third void." Like this:

(1) the feeling aggregate,

(2) the fire element,

(3) eye,

(4) taste,

(5) hand,

(6) gait.

Their quality of being devoid of obscuration, of having the same taste, and of being a unified mixture is 'gnosis' - the third syllable of great void. The emblem of the term for this is two drops, unpronounceable, to the south of the emblem of the middle indestructible.

(U 48; D 30b; Bu 408) (IV) By this term "drop" one should understand the fourth void because of the previous word 'also.' Like this:

(1) the perception aggregate,

(2) the water element,

(3) tongue,

(4) form,

(5) foot,

(6) taking.

Their quality of being devoid of obscuration, of having the same taste, and of being a unified mixture is "drop"-

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the fourth syllable of great void. The emblem of the term for this is one drop, unpronounceable, to the north of the middle emblem.

Regarding: "The bearer of the best best thunderbolt" - the one who bears the best and the best thunderbolt is 'the bearer of the best best thunderbolt' because it is an ekadvandva.[5] Due to the previous word 'also,' these three (i.e., 'gnosis,' 'drop,' and 'best') become terms for void.

(II) The first term 'best' expresses the second void. Like this:

(1) the construction aggregate,

(2) the wind element,

(3) nose,

(4) tactile,

(5) the speech faculty,

(6) defecation.

Their quality of being devoid of obscuration, of having the same taste, and of being a unified mixture is 'best'-

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[5] [It is "an ekadvandva" (with syntactical predominance on) "best." That which compounds different objects that are to be denoted by different terms is a dvandva compound.] varakuliśadhara; mchog mchog rdo rje 'dzin pa. This is certainly a strange dvandva. As the Vimalaprabhā and Śrī Kālacakra (T) I.2a both show, vara- has implicit in it a duplication of itself; thus the Tibetan mchog mchog. This appears to be an idiosyncratic application of the ekaśeṣadvandva; cf. Kale (1894:115 [#186], 119-120 [#197]).

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the second syllable of void. The emblem of the term for this is a mere unpronounceable picture having the aspect of a staff to the east of the emblem of the middle indestructible.

(V) The second term 'best' expresses "the fifth void." Like this:

(1) the form aggregate,

(2) the earth element,

(3) the body faculty,

(4) odor,

(5) the anus,

(6) expression.

Their quality of being devoid of obscuration, of having the same taste, and of being a unified mixture is 'best'- the fifth syllable of void. The emblem of the term for this is an unpronounceable plow shape to the west of the middle indestructible.

In the stated sequence, the five unified mixtures express the five syllable great void, the letter VAṂ, Vajrasattva, great bliss, thunderbolt. (Bu 409)

Here, the five unpronounceable syllables that possess vowel-terms are like this: (I) In the middle is the letter A void having the aspect of a cleaver. (II) To the south is the letter Ṛ void, two drops. (III) To the north is the letter U void, one drop. (IV) To the east is the

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letter I void having the aspect of a staff. (V) To the east is the letter Ḷ void having the shape of a plow. Likewise, one should know their modifications due to lengthening, guṇa, vṛddhi, and changing into semivowels.

Thus, the letter VAṂ is the five syllable great void. It consists of nonobjectifying compassion, is beyond the atomic reality, and is similar to the nature of a prognostic image. The yogi should understand it.[6]

Here, the vowels of the gnosis and consciousness aggregates and so forth are like this: (I)(1) the gnosis aggregate: AṂ; (2) the consciousness aggregate: A; (3) the gnosis element: AḤ; (4) the space element Ā; (5) the mind faculty: AṂ; (6) ear: A; (7) sound: AḤ; (8) the sphere of phenomena: Ā; (9) the vulva: HA; (10) urination: HAḤ; (11) the divine organ HAṂ; (12) ejaculation: HĀ. These are the middle indestructible devoid of obscuration; they are to be understood by means of the emblem of the term that has the aspect of a cleaver.

(D 31a) (II)(1) The construction aggregate: I; (2) the wind element: Ī; (3) the nose faculty: E; (4) tactile: AI; (5) the speech faculty: YA; (6) defecation: YĀ. These

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[6] [Also, establishing the thirty-six vowels as the consonant VAṂ symbolizes the indivisibility of method and wisdom.]

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devoid of obscuration are to be understood by means of the emblem having the aspect of a staff in the east.

(III)(1) The feeling aggregate: ṚA; (2) the fire element: $\bar{\text{Ṛ}}$A; (3) the eye faculty: AR; (4) taste: $\bar{\text{A}}$R; (5) the hand faculty: RA; (6) gait: R$\bar{\text{A}}$. These deviod of obscuration are to be understood by the two drop emblem in the south.

(IV) (1) The perception aggregate: U; (2) the water element: $\bar{\text{U}}$; (3) the tongue faculty: O; (4) the form object: AU; (5) the foot faculty: VA; (6) taking: V$\bar{\text{A}}$. (Bu 410) These devoid of obscuration are to be understood by the drop emblem to the north of the middle emblem.

(V)(1) The form aggregate: ḶA; (2) the earth element: $\bar{\text{Ḷ}}$A; (3) the body faculty: AL; (4) the odor object: $\bar{\text{A}}$L; (5) the anus faculty: LA; (6) expression: L$\bar{\text{A}}$. These devoid of obscuration are to be understood by the emblem having the shape of a plow in the west.

These are the vowel, <u>guṇa</u>, <u>vṛddhi</u>, and semivowel modifications differentiated by the thirty-six divisions. One should grasp the six tastes in place of the aggregates where the individual aggregates are differentiated by the thirty-six divisions: (1) sour, (2) astringent, (3) bitter, (4) pungent, (5) sweet, and (6) salty. (U 49) "(1) AṂ, (2) A, (3) I, (4) ṚA, (5) U, and (6) L" are the

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six tastes. The rest are derived from the rules of pronunciation.

The Jinas call that very five syllable great void consisting of thirty-six 'thunderbolt.' Since he bears that, he is called 'bearer of the thunderbolt.'

The six syllable drop void is the letter E source of phenomena, the form of the emptiness of all aspects. Like this:

(I)(1) the consciousness aggregate,

(2) the space element,

(3) ear,

(4) the sphere of phenomena,

(5) the vulva,

(6) ejaculation.

These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. Above the middle indestructible, the emblem of the term for this, the letter KA consisting of the KA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the first drop void.

(II)(1) The construction aggregate,

(2) the wind element,

(3) nose,

(4) tactile,

(5) speech,

(6) defecation.

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These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. To the east of the eastern emblem, the emblem of the term for this, the letter CA consisting of the CA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the second drop void.

(III)(1) The feeling aggregate,

(2) the fire element,

(3) eye,

(4) taste,

(5) hand,

(6) gait.

(Bu 411) These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. To the south of the southern emblem, the emblem of the term for this, the letter ṬA consisting of the ṬA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the third drop void.

(IV)(1) The perception aggregate,

(2) the water element,

(3) tongue,

(4) form,

(5) the foot faculty,

(6) taking.

(D 31b) These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. To the north of the northern emblem, the emblem of the term for this, the letter PA consisting of

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the PA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the fourth drop void.

(V)(1) The form aggregate,

(2) the earth element,

(3) the body faculty,

(4) odor,

(5) the anus,

(6) expression.

These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. To the west of the western emblem, the emblem of the term for this, the letter TA consisting of the TA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the fifth drop void.

(VI)(1) The gnosis aggregate,

(2) the gnosis element,

(3) mind,

(4) sound,

(5) the divine organ,

(6) urination.

These are the emptiness of all aspects devoid of obscuration. Below the emblem of the middle indestructible, the emblem of the term for this, the

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letter SA consisting of the SA class - the unpronounceable consonant, is the sixth drop void.[7]

Thus, the six syllable drop void is the source of phenomena, the bearer of the thunderbolt, the letter E. It is emptiness having an object, it possesses the nature of a prognostic image.[8]

Here are the consonants of the aggregates, elements, and so forth:

KA KHA GA GHA ṄA

CA CHA JA JHA ÑA

ṬA ṬHA ḌA ḌHA ṆA

PA PHA BA BHA MA

TA THA DA DHA NA

SA ḤPA ṢA ŚA ḤKA

HA YA RA VA LA KṢA.[9]

(Bu 412) Also, one should know the division of the aggregates, elements, and so forth from the division of these vowels and consonants into short and long. Due to the principal division, the aggregates and faculties are

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[7] [These are to be drawn outside of the five syllables (of great void) because E - the source of phenomena, the space element - is the base.]

[8] [Establishing the consonants as the vowel letter E symbolizes that even emptiness having an object has the nature of nonobjectifying compassion.]

[9] [Vibhūti's manuscript and annotations have this: "HA YA RA VA LA KṢA - each at the end of a class."]

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the phenomena of the short vowels and consonants; the elements and objects are the phenomena of the long vowels and consonants. Due to the division of the modifications of the six tastes and elements, there are thirty-six elements. Due to the division of the six aggregates and the six faculties, there are thirty-six aggregates.

Like this: (1) the six tastes, (2) the six elements, (3) the six faculties, (4) the six objects, (5) the six action faculties, (6) the six objects of the action faculties. These are the modifications of the six tastes and elements.

(1) The ear consciousness and so forth, the six consciousnesses;[10] likewise, (2) the six constructions;[11] (3) the six feelings;[12] (4) the six perceptions;[13] (5) the six form aggregates;[14] (6) the six gnosis aggregates.[15]

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[10] [the six faculties of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind]

[11] [the consciousnesses engaging in the six objects by way of the six faculties]

[12] [of form, sound, odor, taste, tactile, and the element of phenomena]

[13] [guttural, palatal, cerebral, labial, dental, nasal: these are the six designations because they clarify the meaning of being and nonbeing]

[14] [earth, water, fire, wind, semen, blood]

[15] [Vajragarbha says this is the constant movement of the prāṇāyāma in the six channels, three upper and three lower.] I have not yet located this reference in

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These are the modifications of the aggregates. I should discuss these in detail later in the commentary; here [in the first chapter] I have mentioned merely a brief account.

Here, the five syllable great void is the assemblage of vowels called "semen and moon." The six syllable drop void is the assemblage of consonants called "menses and sun." Here, semen and moon are the letter VAṂ - vajra. Menses and sun are the letter E - lotus. The unity of these two - vajra and lotus - is Vajrasattva. Vajra is supreme bliss, knowledge, and semen; (U 50; Bu 413) sattva is the divine image of the wisdom of all aspects, object of knowledge, and sun. It is blessed by gnosis and consciousness, devoid of obscuration, a unified mixture, reality, the one who performs the aim of the world. (D 32a)

This very unification of Body, Speech, Mind, and Gnosis is the cause of the four faces. Gnosis [and Kālāgni] is the western yellow face. [Mind] consciousness [and Rāhu] is the eastern black face. Moon and Body is the northern white face. Sun and Speech is the southern red face.

Vajragarbha.

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These two - moon and sun - are to be understood as sets of six elements by means of the principal and subordinate divisions. And those are the particles of earth, water, fire, wind, taste, and great taste. Within these, three originate from semen and three do not. These elements - the water element, the wind element, and the taste element - originate from semen. 'Taste element' is a term for the space element. Three originate from menses and three do not. These elements - the earth element, the fire element, and the great taste element - originate from menses. Here, 'great taste' is a term for the gnosis element. The remaining elements originate from semen and menses.

Thus, the three elements that originate from moon and sun become, according to sequence, the body, speech, and mind of those born from wombs. The elements of moon become the body, speech, and mind of method, and the elements of sun become the body, speech, and mind of wisdom, because they originate from semen and menses. These elements are the six families of the six faculties and so forth. (Bu 414)

Likewise, the families of Body, Speech, and Mind, together with the Nature family, become four families. The three Bodies become four Bodies. The three states become four states.

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Likewise, the families of the five elements, together with the gnosis element, become six families. Similarly, the families of the five aggregates of those born from wombs, together with the gnosis aggregate, become six families. Up until the time she menstruates at the age of twelve, a girl is to be known as three families and five families. Up until the time he ejaculates at the age of sixteen, a male is to be known as three families and five families. From the time of the origination of the gnosis element until death, both [man and woman] are four families and six families.

Likewise, the Bhagavān said in the Basic Tantra:

Three families and five families as well; one nature and one hundred families./(two pādas)[16]

Now I shall discuss the family members (kulin; rigs can) of the families. (Śrī Kālacakra I.2a says:) "Buddhas" and so forth. Here, the Buddhas are the six aggregates - gnosis, consciousness, and so forth. The word 'also' in "gods and demons also" indicates the six bodhisattvas - the mind faculty and so forth; (D 32b) and likewise, the six elements and the six objects; and

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16 [The basis of purification (sbyang gzhi) is the "hundred" purified "families": the thirty-six aggregates and elements, the thirty-two teeth, the twenty nails, and the twelve segments of the skull.] Pāda a is similar to Guhyasamāja 18.36a; pāda b is almost identical to Guhyasamāja 18.36b.

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likewise, the six furies - the six action faculties, and the six fury goddesses - the six functions of the action faculties. The 'gods' are the twelve joints of the arms and legs - they will be explained later, and so will the eight yoginis, Carcikā and so forth. The 'demons' are the naga kings and the goddesses - Śvānāsyā and so forth.

Now, in order to convert the heterodox, I shall discuss 'nature and the soul.' (Bu 415) Likewise, the Bhagavān said in another tantra:

> Mahāmāyā is very fierce, she causes origination and destruction. She creates herself, she destroys herself; she is king herself, overlord herself.//[17]

This is false [provisional meaning]; ultimately there is no creator and destroyer. The other dharma imagined by

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[17] [Since she kills the pernicious ones, she is "very fierce." "She causes the origination and destroys" or grasps the inanimate and animate world. She is the "creator of herself" - all happiness and suffering. Since she has dominion over everything, "she is king herself." Since she is overlord of everything, "she is overlord herself."]

Pādas ab of this verse are located at Mahāmāyātantra-nāma Peking #64; vol. 3, 63/4/2. Pādas cd, which Puṇḍarīka objects to below, are not in the Peking edition of the Mahāmāyā. However, pādas cd are identical to Hevajra I.viii.47cd. Also, the entire verse is cited in the verse introduction to Vajragarbha at 4/2/2-3. There too the idea of māyā expressed in this verse is rejected, and it is said to have been taught by Īśvara "in the heterodox Śaivasiddhānta." (For the Sanskrit cf. Nepal National Archives MS # 3-693 4b/1-2.) (Hevajra I.viii.47cd is commented on at Vajragarbha 30/3/4-5, but the comment is not pertinent to the current discussion.)

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the heterodox - nature, the soul, and so forth - is also (false; i.e., taught here as provisional meaning).[18]

Regarding that, the heterodox nature consists of twenty-four (principles), and the soul is the twenty-fifth (principle). Regarding this, (a) "the fundamental nature is not modification": it is the progenitor of sentient beings' fourth state, it is the space element. (U 51) (b) "The great one and so forth, seven, are nature and modification": (1) earth, (2) water, (3) fire, (4) wind, (5) mind, (6) intellect, and (7) egotism. (c) "Sixteen, on the other hand, are modifications": the five faculties, the five objects, the five action faculties, and the divine organ. This is the twenty-four (principle) nature; (d) "the soul is neither nature nor modification."[19] (Bu 416) Here, the soul is neither nature nor modification

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[18] [Likewise, "the other dharma imagined by the heterodox" - the twenty-four (principle) "nature," the twenty-fifth (principle) "the soul, and so forth" - the six and nine categories (padārtha; tshig gi don) and so forth that (the Buddha) taught using terminology agreeing with the heterodox "is also" (false) - taught in order to attract (drang ba'i don du) the heterodox.]

[19] (a), (b), and (c) are Sāṃkhyakārikā 3abc; (d) is a rephrasing of Sāṃkhyakārikā 3d. (Bu gives no indication that these are in verse, or that they are quotations. The Sanskrit marks them with iti.)

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because it is pervasive; it is separate from nature (svabhāva; ngo bo nyid).[20]

'The one that consists of the twenty-fifth' (principle) is established 'in the Outer, in the body, and also in the Other.' In the Outer, "the five elements [earth and so forth], Rāhu [mind], sun [intellect], and moon [egotism]" are the eight natures. The five planets, Mars [eye] and so forth - the five faculties, the five objects [sound and so forth], and the six tastes [bitter

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[20] [(Annotations to the preceding paragraph:) "Regarding this," there are four (types of principles:) (1) that which is only nature, (2) those which are both nature and modification, (3) those which are only modification (vikṛti; rnam par 'gyur ba), and (4) that which is neither nature nor modification. Among these, the first is "the fundamental nature" (mūlaprakṛti; rtsa ba'i rang bzhin). The second (type of principle) is "the great one" (mahat; chen po), i.e., intellect (buddhi; blo), and so forth. These "seven" are both "nature and modification." "Mind" (manas; yid) is conjoined with the qualities rajas, tamas, and sattva. "Intellect" consists of the five sense consciousnesses or attraction. "Egotism" (ahaṃkāra; nga rgyal) grasps at an "I." These are modifications because they are born from the fundamental nature, and they are nature because they generate the sixteen modifications. The third (type of principle), eye and so forth, are the "sixteen" that are only "modifications": the eye and so forth are the intellect's "five faculties;" sound and so forth, the five primary elements (pañcatanmātrāṇi; de tsam nga) are "the five objects"; the mouth and so forth are "the five action faculties," and the path of the semen is "the divine organ." That which consists of "nature and the twenty-four modifications" is the entity to be grasped by the soul, the entity that grasps. The fourth (type of principle) is "the soul." "It is separate from the nature" of nature and the modifications.] Compare the discussion in Larson (1979:154-208).

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and so forth] of earth and so forth are the sixteen modifications. However, some say: "the faculties and so forth, and the six bodies of the living being."[21]

Likewise, I should discuss 'the measurements of the universe in the body' in "The Chapter on the Soul." Regarding "the arrangement of the three existences": Here, in the Outer the three existences are the cosmos, and in the Inner they are the body. "Please explain the arrangement of this in accordance with the sequence of the subsequent explanation," is a determination of the task.

Regarding "the enjoyments of gods and demons": Here, the gods enjoy the daytime, and the demons enjoy the nighttime. Likewise, the gods enjoy the northward passage, and the demons enjoy the southward passage.[22]

Regarding "the mandalas; and the initiations- rightly explain this, guru of gods and men!": Here, this means: "In accordance with worldly truth, explain the mandala of colored powders made by striking the chalk line and by laying colored powders! (D 33a) Again, in

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21 ["Some," Jains (*kṣapaṇaka; zad byed pa) and so forth, (say that the sixteen modifications are:) the five "faculties and so forth," i.e., the five faculties and the five objects, making ten, "and the six bodies of the living being" (*jīva; 'tsho ba) - earth, water, fire, wind, *vanaspati (nags kyi bdag po), and grain (*dhānya; 'bru).]

22 "Enjoyment" (bhukti; longs spyod) also refers to the daily motion of a planet; Apte 1201.

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accordance with ultimate truth, explain the mandala of all aspects in the space element, which is like a mirror prognostic, which is separate from striking the chalk line and separate from laying the colored powders, which is separate from the mind that conceptually meditates on the deities having colors, arms, shapes, and forms!"

Furthermore, there are seven worldly initiations: (1) water, (2) crown, (3) ribbon, (4) vajra and bell, (5) great discipline, (6) name, and (7) authorization. Likewise, the exalted (uttara; gong ma) initiations are: (8) vase, (9) secret, and (10) wisdom-gnosis. The eleventh, transcendental initiation is the Fourth. (Thus, the statement in the Abridged Tantra means) rightly explain all this!

If you wonder what is the reason for this, in a future time here in the land of the Aryans there will be vajrācāryas who will steal property.[23] For the sake of

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[23] [It says in the Ādibuddha:
Many of those practicing yoga in future times will be thieves and unrestrained. They will delight in sin and be attached to the implements of yoga; they will abandon this great tantra and this Fourth.//(1)
These wild ones with excited faculties, jealous, attached to their homes and desiring property, will dwell on sexual intercourse and will abandon this Fourth.//(2); and so forth.]

These two verses are the beginning of a long quotation from the Paramādibuddha that appears in the introduction to *Kālacakrapāda's Sekoddeśaṭīkā (147/2/5-6; the quotation continues to 147/4/3). mKhas grub makes an illuminating comment on these verses at TC 642-643.

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Without mentioning either Bu ston or *Kālacakrapāda by name, mKhas grub says that "some" cite these verses as being from the Ādibuddha, but this shows a lack of discernment. (TC's annotator has identified the "some" as rang ngam, which is his shorthand for "perhaps Bu ston.") mKhas grub reminds us that the verses of the Kālacakra mūlatantra are described as being solely in the anuṣṭubh metre, and notes that these verses do not conform to the anuṣṭubh metre. (This is correct; the Tibetans used seven syllable quarters to translate the Paramādibuddha's verses in anuṣṭubh, and the verses cited have nine syllables per quarter in translation.)

Most significant, however, is the rest of mKhas grub's comment. He notes that, with certain variations, these verses also appear in the Samādhirājasūtra. Again mKhas grub is correct, and the implications are rather startling. Not only the two verses cited by Bu ston and discussed by mKhas grub, but the entire quotation at the beginning of *Kālacakrapāda's Sekoddeśaṭīkā finds a close parallel in the Samādhirājasūtra. Here is a table comparing the two passages:

Sekoddeśaṭīkā	Samādhirāja (T)
147/2/5-147/3/5	294/5/8-295/1/8
147/3/5-6	295/2/2&3&4
147/3/6-7	295/2/4-7
147/3/7-147/4/3 (END OF QUOTE)	295/2/7-295/3/3 (END OF CHAP.)

The Samādhirāja text is Samādhirāja (S) 16.8-31. The metre of the Sanskrit here is a kind of triṣṭubh having eleven syllables per pada. However, since we unfortunately do not have the Sanskrit of the Sekoddeśaṭīkā, it is easier to compare the phraseology in the Tibetan translations. Having done so, I have no doubt that *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation" from the Paramādibuddha is in fact an adaptation of the end of the 16th chapter of the Samādhirājasūtra. *Kālacakrapāda has dropped a couple of verses from the Samādhirāja text and has altered the remainder, but most of the two texts corresponds word for word. In the Samādhirāja passage the Buddha laments the wicked monks of the future who will abandon the special samadhi taught in the Samādhirāja; in the Paramādibuddha passage the Buddha laments the wicked yogis of the future who will abandon the special Fourth initiation taught in the Paramādibuddha.

One might be tempted to accuse *Kālacakrapāda of plagarism here, but that would miss the point. The

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property they will go to the houses of rich men who are conceited in their wealth and will sell the Dharma.[24] Because of their greed for property, they will give the transcendental initiation to those who are unfit for it.

Samādhirājasūtra was an important "Madhyamaka-type" Mahāyāna sutra, and we may assume that the pandits for whom the Sekoddeśaṭīkā was written immediately recognized *Kālacakrapāda's "quotation" for what it is. In fact, I think this "quotation" is indicative of *Kālacakrapāda's honesty. We should remember that (so I believe) *Kālacakrapāda was the man who introduced the Kālacakra into India, and that the Sekoddeśa contains the very essence of the special Kālacakra doctrines. By placing this "quotation" (keep in mind its content!) right at the beginning of his commentary on this most important text, *Kālacakrapāda made a very clear declaration of the origin and purpose of his unique vision of the Vajrayāna.

[24] [In the Sekaprakriyāvṛtti written by Dārika, Sucandra says:

> Saying, "This relieves the world," some pour a stream of water on one's head. They place the crown on their heads, and take up the vajra, bell, and so forth in their hands.//(2)
> Then they achieve their livelihood; they gather a mass of disciples. They say, "These words of mine are pure"; they deceive the fools.//(3)
> They teach the secrets in a perverse fashion./(4a);

and so forth.]

This annotation is Dārika's *Śrī-Kālacakratantrarājasya-sekaprakriyāvṛtti-vajrapadodghaṭi-nāma Peking #2072; vol. 47, 165/5/3-5; the quotation begins one verse prior to those cited and continues to 166/2/3. Bu ston's note implies that Dārika attributes this passage to Sucandra, but mKhas grub (TC 642) disputes this assertion, saying it is devoid of a source. I tend to agree with mKhas grub on this point; there is a reference to Sucandra immediately following the passage in question, but it does not seem to imply Sucandra's authorship of the passage. Even so, the sentiments expressed in this passage are entirely in line with the criticism of degenerate practice of the Vajrayāna that we find in the Vimalaprabhā, Vajragarbha, Vajrapāṇi, the Paramārthasevā, and the Sekoddeśaṭīkā.

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Having first been minions of kings and so forth, later they will become gurus. They will not give the transcendental initiation to others who are bereft of property even though they have completely abandoned the path of the ten non-virtuous karmas and possess minds fit for it; (instead) they will cause them to generate passions. For the sake of property they will disclose the vajra word to wicked sentient beings. Also, others who do not know the vajra word will dispute with each other about it. (Bu 418) Also, those who do not know the meaning of tantra will devise commentaries using their scholarly conceit. Having become gurus of sentient beings, this pack of devils will teach the vajra word in a perverse fashion.[25] They will teach idiots that the Buddha gnosis

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[25] [It says in the Vajragarbha commentary:
In the time of the five decays ācāryas will appear who will teach yoga practices that cause one to enter the wrong path.//(1)
Using wicked reasoning they will briefly explain the tantra without extensive explanation. Having engendered desire for others' wealth and wives, they will send one to hell.//(2)
Some without the qualities of the five psychic powers will devise commentaries and so forth. With their pride in grammar and dialectics, they will destroy the practice of yoga.//(3)
Some people will say to other people, "I am Buddha, Vajrasattva himself; I am Vajradhara." They will order them saying, "Make effort to take initiation!"//(4)
And they will not salute monks who hold the vows and ethics; they will always salute the white-clad ascetics who say, "I am Vajradhara upon the earth."//(5)
Sudras, slaves, traders, and commoners who delight in farming will sell books and make their livelihood

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is the bliss born from the two sexual organs. They will say that the third wisdom-gnosis is the Fourth itself: "The words, 'that is again like that' indicate that the third gnosis is the Buddha gnosis because the Bhagavān said that cause and effect are indivisible."[26]

Thus, seeing the activities of those wicked ācāryas in that future time, the Bhagavān Buddha did not expose the Fourth wisdom-gnosis initiation in all the various tantras. (Bu 419) In the land of the Aryans some will look at books with their scholarly conceit and, without having initiation, will teach the Vajrayāna. Therefore, in all basic tantras and abridged tantras the Fourth wisdom-gnosis and the mahāmudrā meditation, the path of smoke and so forth, are very concealed; in some basic tantras they are manifest. Again, here in the Paramādibuddha, in the Basic Tantra and in the Abridged Tantra as well, the Fourth wisdom-gnosis is manifest, and

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wrongly.//(6)
Ācāryas such as these, who act as gurus by corrupting the hidden yoga practices and devising their own, are the troops of the devil.//(7); and so forth.]

This quotation is Vajragarbha 3/2/4-3/3/1. It forms part of the introduction to Vajragarbha's commentary, and has already been noted by Snellgrove (1959a:15).

[26] This polemic is evidence of a debate that took place among the vajrācāryas in North India around the turn of the 11th century. The particulars of this obviously crucial controversy are far from clear at this point, but cf. Snellgrove (1959a:35); Kvaerne (1975:113-115, 118).

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the mahāmudrā meditation, the path of smoke and so forth, is also manifest. (D 33b) This does not come through the sequence of the vajrācārya transmission, just as the mantra deity [the body, color, hand-symbols, and so forth of the mandala circle], the practices for the external siddhis [incense preparation, alchemy, and so forth], [the provisional meaning] hero process [accomplishing the fierce deity], and the self-blessing process [the concentration that imagines the peaceful deity] do not come through the sequence of the guru transmission.

(U 52) This process of purification that gives the mahāmudrā siddhi, that is manifest in the Paramādibuddha, was written down in a book. Knowing the superior aspirations of the minds of the fortunate sentient beings north of the Śītā River,[27] the Bhagavān taught it and Vajrapāṇi wrote it down in a book.

The Bhagavān made the Nāmasaṃgīti authoritative, and since it frees all sentient beings from doubt, he rightly

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27 ["Śītā" means cool or white: it is much cooler than other rivers, or else it is covered with lines of white bubbles.] MSS consistently read śītā; Bu consistently reads shī ta. (See also Bu ston's note at sGra rig mkhas pa'i rgyan 612.) Sanskrit śīta means "cool" (bsil ba), whereas sita means "white" (dkar po). I follow MSS in my transliteration, and this orthography also happens to correspond with Beal's reconstruction of the Sanskrit original of Hsuan-tsang's "si-to" (Beal 1884:2.298 [n. 44]).

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taught Vajrapāṇi the definitive meaning of all the mantra systems of the Mantrayāna from the Nāmasaṃgīti.

Therefore, those who do not know the Paramādibuddha do not know the Nāmasaṃgīti. Those who do not know the Nāmasaṃgīti do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara. Those who do not know the Gnosis Body of Vajradhara do not know the Mantrayāna. Those who do not know the Mantrayāna are all samsaric - they are separate from the path of Bhagavān Vajradhara. Thus, noble gurus should teach the Paramādibuddha, and noble disciples who strive for liberation should listen to it.[28]

The Sixth Brief Account: A Summary of the Mandalas, Initiations, and so forth. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Following the Basic Tantra.[29]

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[28] I have edited and translated the Sanskrit and Tibetan of this "Kālacakra manifesto" in Newman (1987:93). See also Newman (1965:68-69).

[29] [As it pervades the six families, the hundred families, and so forth, one should know that this sixth brief account pervades in common all of the following.]

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The Seventh Brief Account: A Summary of the Cosmos

A Brief Account that Summarizes the Bhagavān's Reply

[The seventh topic:] Now, the redactor Mañjuśrī [Yaśas] redacted the Bhagavān's reply in the Paramādibuddha by means of the third verse (of the Abridged Tantra), "I am pleased" and so forth. I shall expatiate this.

Śrī Kālacakra I.3

> I am pleased with you, Sucandra. The most eminent gods, men, cannibal demons, demons, nagas, passionless saints, and the families of the supreme sages do not know this for which you asked. The entire yoga - nirvana and so forth that end with the earth - together with the source of the words, is in the middle of the body. I shall explain the mandalas and initiations - listen, good master of men!//

Regarding, "I am pleased with you, Sucandra": ["Sucandra"] is a vocative - 'O Sucandra, I am pleased with you.' Why? The most eminent gods, men, and so forth do not know this Kālacakra yoga you asked for; thus, I am pleased. (D 34a)

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Here, 'the most eminent gods' are the hosts of the Four Great Kings, and so on through those who have attained the sphere of neither perception nor nonperception.[1] 'Men' are the cakravartin and so forth. The 'cannibal demons' are Naiṛti and so forth. The 'demons' are Aparājita and so forth. The 'nagas' are Ananta and so forth. (Bu 421) The 'passionless saints' are Ārya Ānanda and so forth.[2] The 'supreme sages' are Nārada and so forth; their families (do not know the Kālacakra yoga). These most eminent gods, men, and so forth do not know the Kālacakra yoga.

Regarding, "nirvana and so forth that end with the earth": Nirvana, the gnosis element, is their beginning. At the end is she who holds - earth.[3] The space, wind, fire, and water elements are in between by implication. These [five] elements, space and so forth, are that which is pervaded; the pervader is the [sixth] gnosis element.

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[1] ["The Four Great Kings" (are the guardians of the four directions); "and so on" indicates the six (classes of gods of the) desire (realm), the sixteen (classes) of the form (realm), and (the gods of) limitless space.]

[2] [The śrāvaka tradition holds that "Ānanda" had passion at that time (i.e., when the Kālacakra tantra was taught) because he was a stream-enterer. However, in the tantra corpus it is explained that he was a passionless saint.] Cf. Wayman (1968a:22-23 [n. 10]).

[3] [Since she acts as a base for sentient and non-sentient beings, "she who holds" (dharā; 'dzin ma, i.e., "Mother Earth") is "earth" (pṛthvī; sa).]

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Thus, the relation of pervaded and pervader is 'yoga.' Likewise, the Bhagavān said (in the Basic Tantra):

> Earth, water, likewise fire, wind, the space element, and consciousness; the person of the great soul is called the six elements.//

(U 53) Regarding, "together with the source of the words": Words are two-fold: they consist of āli and kāli. Their source is the source of the words: the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants from the places of the throat, the palate, the roof of the palate, the lips, and the teeth.[4]

That which is together with that source is articulation by means of the mantra symbols. Here, symbols (saṃketaka; brda) are of two types: one is the mantra symbols, and the second is the reality symbol (tathatāsaṃketaka; de kho na nyid kyi brda). Regarding these, mantra symbols are articulation - worldly. Reality is ultimate (pāramārthikam; dam pa'i don can) - it has abandoned oral declaration. Where there are articulated symbols, there are mantra terms - "OṂ ĀḤ HŪṂ" and so forth. (Bu 422) Where there is the reality symbol,

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[4] [Since the word mūrdha applies to 'the tip' or 'upward,' the tip of the tongue is turned upward.] Mūrdhan means "the roof of the palate," the source of the cerebrals.

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there is the letter A: "It is the door of all phenomena because it is primordially unborn."

Likewise, the Bhagavān stated [the definitive meaning mantra] in the sixteen thousand verse Māyājāla:

> Like this, Bhagavān Buddha, the perfect Buddha, is arisen from the letter A. The letter A is the foremost of all letters, is the great aim, the supreme syllable.//(NS 28)
>
> Great prāṇa is unborn, it has abandoned oral declaration; it is the foremost cause of all expression, it well-illuminates all words.//(NS 29)[5]

Also, it says in the (Māyājāla's) "Net of Samadhi Chapter":

> The one devoid of syllables is the birthplace of mantra; it is the three families of great mantra./(NS 143cd)
>
> It is the five syllable great void, the six syllable bindu void.//(NS 144cd)[6]

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[5] Cf. Vimalaprabhā I.4.1.

[6] [(NS 143cd:) The sphere of phenomena separate from subject and discourse, the supreme unchanging gnosis, is "the one devoid of syllables." It is "the birthplace"- the cause itself - of connate gnosis itself, the worldly and other "mantras." Since it is to be known by oneself by means of the unchanging filler, ejector, and vase (prāṇāyāma), it is "great mantra." Body, speech, and mind having the nature of the three joys are "the three families." (NS 144cd:) "It is the five syllable great void" that is the five aggregates separate from

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The Bhagavān stated the ultimate reality symbol in the Mantrayāna: "Thus, nirvana is the gnosis element, indestructible and unpronounceable; it has the characteristic of the unpronounceable vowels and consonants."

The Bhagavān stated the mantra symbols of the space element and so forth that are characterized by articulation, the phenomena that are pronounced from the throat and so forth: (D 34b) Here, A, KU, HA, and visarjanīya (i.e., visarga) are the gutturals.[7] I, CU [i.e., the CA series], YA, and ŚA are the palatals. (Bu 423) Ṛ, ṬU [i.e., the ṬA series], RA, and ṢA are the cerebrals. U, PU [i.e., the PA series], VA, and

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obscuration. The void of all aspects that is the elements separate from obscuration is "the six syllable drop void."] Note: The Vimalaprabhā adopts the reading ṣaḍakṣara instead of śatākṣara in NS 144d; cf. NS 144d apparatus, and sGra rig mkhas pa'i rgyan 612/3-4.

[7] [The Cāndravyākaraṇa says: "UT signifies the inclusion of a series." Thus, the U of the KU symbolizes (the KA's) own series.] This refers to the system of notation used in Sanskrit grammatical treatises. The first syllable of a consonant series plus "U" stands for the entire series. Thus, "KU," i.e., "K" plus "U" symbolizes the entire series of the guttural consonants: KA KHA GA GHA NA. Cf. sGra rig mkhas pa'i rgyan 614, and mKhas pa rnams dga' bar byed pa 856-857.

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upadhmānīya (i.e., ḤPA) are the labials. Ḷ, TU [i.e., the TA series], LA, and SA are the dentals.[8]

Likewise, the mantras (pronounced in) two places [like HU that is born from the throat and lips], three places [like PHRE, that is born from the lips, the roof of the palate, and the palate], four places [like HṚḶṂ, that is born from the throat, the roof of the palate, the teeth and the lips], and five places [HYRVLA], i.e., the stacked mantras as well, are to be understood by means of the symbols of articulation.

Also, these (mantras) that possess the nature of terms demonstrate existents that possess terms in order to accomplish the worldly siddhis. In all Kings of Tantra the Bhagavān specified the reality symbol that has abandoned oral declaration, that is ultimate, that is separate from the siddhis of the karmamudrā and the jñānamudrā, in order to accomplish the mahāmudrā siddhi.

"This entire yoga is in the middle of the body - I shall explain the mandalas and initiations by means of the following sequence of explanation so that all sentient beings may obtain the status without obscuration; you

---

[8] The preceding can be tabulated as follows:

GUTTURALS	(SPACE):	A KA KHA GA GHA ṄA HA Ḥ
PALATALS	(WIND):	I CA CHA JA JHA ÑA YA ŚA
CEREBRALS	(FIRE):	Ṛ ṬA ṬHA ḌA ḌHA ṆA RA ṢA
LABIALS	(WATER):	Ụ PA PHA BA BHA MA VA ḤPA
DENTALS	(EARTH):	Ḷ TA THA DA DHA NA LA SA

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listen good master of men!" The preceding is a brief account that summarizes the Bhagavān's reply.

A Brief Account that Summarizes the Cosmos

[The eighth topic:] Now, the redactor Mañjuśrī used the fourth verse (of the Abridged Tantra) - "Due to time, from the voids" and so forth - to teach the Bhagavān's summary of the cosmos in the Paramādibuddha. I shall expatiate this.

Śrī Kālacakra I.4

Due to time, from the voids: wind, fire, water, the earth; the continents, mountains, and oceans; the constellations, the sun, the moon, the host of star-planets, and the sages; gods, ghosts, and nagas; animals that have four types of birthplace; humans and hell denizens also, on the manifold earth and below - originate in the middle of void, like salt in water, and the egg-born in the middle of an egg.//

(U 54) Here in the mantra system, the Bhagavān said that a mantra adept is emancipated by means of the three vehicles, and abides in the result of the single vehicle

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(NS 135cd).[9] (Bu 424) Also, one who does not know the intention of the three vehicles loses the path to omniscience for the time being. One who does not know the different intentional language in the Mantrayāna will kill and so forth.[10] He will enjoy the property of the maṭha and the vihāra. Then, having become addicted to the enjoyment of external objects due to grasping the sides of eternalism and nihilism, in the guise of an ācārya he will mock the Three Jewels and will go to hell.

Here, there are four kinds of venerable men sentient beings should propitiate for the sake of the next world and for this world. Among these, the man who is venerable due to gnosis is the vajrācārya who has obtained psychic power and has gained the stages of muditā and so forth.[11] (D 35a) The Bhagavān said that whether he is a monk or a

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[9] ["The three vehicles" are provisional. One skilled in their intent should be "emancipated" from that which is to be abandoned by each of their paths. "A mantra adept abides in the result of a single" final "vehicle" - the Mahāyāna Vajrayāna. Since "the Bhagavān said" this, one must know the intention of all three vehicles.]

[10] ["One who does not know the different" enigmatic "intentional language" that has four "intentions" and four bases of intention "in the Mantrayāna," having grasped it literally, "will kill and so forth."] For a discussion of the four intentions and the four bases of intention, see Cabezon (1981); and cf. DAS 712 s.v. ldem po. See Part I, Chapter 4 for references to intentional language.

[11] MSS all read muditā; the usual form for the first bodhisattva stage is pramuditā.

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householder he is equal to ten monks in being worthy of worship.

In lieu of that, the man who is venerable due to asceticism is the one who bears the saffron robe. Others who bear the saffron robe should venerate him because his ordination is prior to theirs; mantra adepts should venerate him because his initiation is prior to theirs. Householder ācāryas should always salute him because he is venerable due to asceticism, and because householders do not have psychic power.

The man who is venerable due to learning is the pandit ["skilled" (mkhas) in the three vehicles] who is worthy of worship. He illuminates the doctrine; he tames the pack of devil-opponents.

Sentient beings should propitiate these [three] for the sake of the next world. The man who is venerable due to wealth is the king; those who strive for the pleasures of this world should propitiate him. Sentient beings should propitiate these four venerable men.

Therefore, one who knows the three vehicles [- who is venerable due to learning - originates from, i.e.,] is venerable due to asceticism. (Bu 425) As long as a householder does not become an ascetic, he does not have the authority to listen to the Prātimokṣa in the śrāvaka vehicle. Therefore, except for [one who has obtained]

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psychic power, a householder is not venerable. And the Bhagavān did not say in any vehicle whatsoever that householders who are devoid of the vows of religious mendicants should enjoy the maṭha or the vihāra.[12]

Therefore, in order to thoroughly understand the three vehicles, first one should know the origination and cessation of the cosmos, as well as the time of evolution and devolution, in dependence on the thought of the Vaibhāṣikas. For the Bhagavān said: "The cosmos that consists of a conglomeration of particles exists; likewise, the person that bears the burden exists. I do not say they are permanent or impermanent."[13]

Therefore, due to evolution, i.e., by the force of the time of [the cosmos' birth and] origination, (the

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[12] For a similar discussion see Vajrapāṇi 162/3/2-162/5/2.

[13] [The "time" (of evolution and devolution) is karma. "The Bhagavān said: 'The cosmos that consist of a conglomeration of particles exists; likewise," he said in the Bhāravāhasūtra "the person who bears the burden exists." He did this in order to convert those who hold external objects that are conglomerations of particles to be real, and those who are attached to a self.]

For extensive references to the Bhāravāhasūtra see de la Vallée Poussin (1925:256); Bhattacharya (1930:762-763).

Puṇḍarīka's usage of "evolution" (saṃvarta; chags pa) and "devolution" (vivarta; 'jigs pa) is an exact inversion of the standard meanings of these terms; cf. Newman (1988:appendix).

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cosmos originates) "from the voids."[14] In accordance with worldly convention, the voids are not within the range of the faculties of the eye and so forth. They abide by means of the atomic nature. They are the substances (dravyam; rdzas) earth, water, fire, wind, and taste (space) whose natures are five, four, three, two, and one qualities. The sixth quality - the sphere of phenomena- is all-pervasive. These are the voids.

From those void particles, by the force of the time of origination, "wind" (originates). Among those particles first the wind particles adhere to each other. The light, fluttering motion resulting from that conjunction is called "wind." (Bu 426) Likewise, the fire particles adhere, and the lightning conjoined with wind is called "fire." Likewise, the water particles adhere, and the rain conjoined with wind and fire is called "water." Likewise, the adhesion of the earth particles that appear in the sky as Indra's Bow (i.e., the rainbow) is called "earth." The taste (space) particles are all-pervasive. Thus, wind, fire, water, and earth occur from the five voids. (D 35b)

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[14] Skt. consistently uses locative śūnyeṣu; Tib. ablative stong pa rnams las. I translate according to Tib.; cf. Newman (1988).

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From the power of the holding wind, the churning wind, and the shaping wind "the continents, mountains, and oceans (originate)."[15] There are seven continents, seven mountains, and seven oceans. (U 55)

Regarding "the constellations, the sun, the moon, the host of star-planets, and the sages": The constellations are twenty-seven, and those related to them are limitless. The sun and the moon are shaped like discs. "The host of star-planets" are similar, having the aspect of stars: Mars and so forth. The sages (are the constellation) consisting of seven stars.[16]

Regarding "gods, ghosts, and nagas": The gods are the hosts of the Four Great Kings and so forth. The ghosts are Aparājita and the pretas and so forth. The nagas are Ananta and so forth.

Regarding "animals that have four types of birthplace": Garudas, [geese, cranes,] and so forth are born from eggs: their birthplace is wind. Gajendra (the Lord of Elephants), [buffaloes, bullocks,] and so forth

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[15] [It is the "holding" wind because it holds the mass of earth particles and so forth just as a cloud's wind holds a mass of water particles. The "churning" wind makes the mass of particles from earth through to taste solidify and adhere, like salt, by churning them. "The shaping wind" arranges the entire world.]

[16] I.e., the saptarṣi, Ursa Major. The seven sages/stars are listed at Apte 1626.

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are born from wombs: their birthplace is fire. Worms, butterflies, ants, [caterpillars, fish,] and so forth are born from moist heat: their birthplace is water. (Bu 427) Trees and so forth have apparitional births: their birthplace is the ground.[17] Likewise, those who have a great apparitional birth have a birthplace of taste (space).[18]

Regarding "on the manifold earth, and below": "Earth" is the reading in the text.[19] Since it is manifold and

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[17] Buddhists do not usually classify plants among the animals (tiryac; dud 'gro); this is more characteristic of the Jainas. mKhas grub (TC 673-677) lets off a lengthy diatribe attacking earlier attempts to explain away this seeming anomaly. mKhas grub's own solution is to note the translations of Tsa mi and Grags pa rgyal mtshan that, so he says, read "louse" (shig) instead of "tree" (ljon shing); but I wonder if the shig in these translations was not a corruption of shing. mKhas grub also says "it is said" that some Indian manuscripts read "rita," which I assume is a corruption of rikṣā (v.l. for likṣā), "a nit." In any case, I follow MSS and Bu in reading vṛkṣa, "tree," and assume this is just another instance of the deliberate syncretism that pervades the Kālacakra.

[18] [Like animals that have an apparitional birth, the gods "who have a great apparitional birth" which is not that of the animals, "have a birthplace of taste," i.e., space.]

[19] [Since mahi is a *samāhāra compound with vividha, it should have a neuter gender, and it does not have a neuter gender.] As it stands, vividhamahitale means "on the surface of the manifold earth." However, in the next passage of the Vimalaprabhā Puṇḍarīka glosses the compound vividhamahyāṃ tale ca, as the Tibetans have translated it (sna tshogs sa dang 'og tu). (Note: Bu ston is in error taking vividhamahi as a samāhāra-dvandva; it is a karmadhāraya.)

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since it is also the earth, it the manifold earth. It has the nature of the seven continents and the nature of the twelve sections. Below that is below the manifold earth: the existence of the nagas, and the seven hell existences. On that manifold earth are humans, and in hell below are the hell denizens. The word 'also' indicates a collection [(i.e., including) the naga existence that is not mentioned (in the verse of the tantra).]

Regarding "originate in the middle of void, like salt in water and the egg-born in the middle of an egg": Here, salt serves as an example for the production of inanimate things, and an egg for the production of animate things; the word 'and' is a conjunction. For example, saltwater particles become solid salt from the application of sunshine: inanimate things - Meru and so forth (originate) similarly. For example, particles of seminal fluid become the face, trunk, and so forth - the body - in the middle of an egg: one should know animate sentient beings to (originate) similarly.

I shall discuss the production of this cosmos in detail in the fifth chapter. The preceding is a brief account that summarizes the cosmos.

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A Brief Account that Summarizes the Vajra Body

Now, Mañjuśrī taught the fifth verse that summarizes the vajra body, "body" and so forth, in accordance with the earlier sequence [of the Bhagavān's reply (in Śrī Kālacakra I.3)]. I shall expatiate this.

Śrī Kālacakra I.5

> The vajra body is described as the ten-fold existence: body, gnosis, sky, wind, fire, water, earth, motionless, animate, and the divinities that are unseen and uncreated. The birthplace of the mantras originates from that, O master of men, and again it is liberated into that itself. One who rightly knows it like that is not a beast; he is liberated from the mind's ideation.//

(D 36a; Bu 428) "Body" is moon separate from obscuration. "Gnosis" is sun separate from obscuration. "Sky" is the space element separate from obscuration. Likewise are the wind element, the fire element, the water element, and the earth element. "Motionless" is the inanimate element consisting of the five (preceding elements), separate from obscuration.

Regarding "the divinities that are unseen and uncreated": Those who are divinities and who are unseen

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and uncreated are the divinities that are unseen and uncreated. They are the formless existences that possess merely the egotism of consciousness; there are four types - the sphere of limitless space and so forth.

Thus, the Tathāgatas described the body and so forth - the ten-fold existence - as the base of the vajra gnosis. The birthplace of the mantras - the bindu and so forth - originates from the vajra body. 'Master of men' [is a vocative].

[If you wonder what mantras originate from which of those "birthplaces":] Here is the birthplace of the mantras: from moon, drop; from sun, visarga; from the space element, A; from the wind element, I; (U 56) from the fire element, Ṛ; from the water element, U; from the earth element, Ḷ; from the inanimate element [Meru], the consonant MA; from the animate element [the desire and form realms], the consonant KṢA; and from the formless realm, the consonant HA. These mantra words should be placed in the reverse order [i.e., in an ascending sequence].

Then, the former consonant goes on top of the latter consonant. The letter Ḷ and so forth become semivowels

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because it says: "iko yaṇaci";[20] the letter A is joined to the end of them. Visarga is shaped like a half moon. Bindu is a circle. Gnosis is shaped like a crest. The mantra birthplace of the guṇa-ed, vṛddhi-ed, and so forth mantras is like this (Bu 429):

"HA KṢA MA Ḷ U Ṛ I AḤ o ʃ H
KṢ
M
L
V
R
YA"

- the assemblage of the cosmos, the vajra body.[21]

In the space element is the letter YA - the wind mandala. Above that is the letter RA - the fire mandala. Above that is the letter VA - the water mandala. Above that is the letter LA - the earth mandala. Above that is the letter MA - Meru having five aspects [elements].

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20 This is Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī 6.1.77: "The semivowels y, v, r, l are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels i, u, ṛ, and ḷ (long and short), when followed by a vowel." (I am grateful to David Reigle for pointing this out to me.) Puṇḍarīka quotes a number of grammars at Vimalaprabhā I.10.95.

21 lokadhātukāyo vajrakāyaḥ; 'jig rten gyi khams kyi tshogs dang rdo rje'i lus.

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Above that is the letter KṢA - the assemblage of animate things [the desire and form (realms)] (indicated) by a representation of a lotus. Above that is the assemblage of the formless (gods) - the letter HA. From the letter HA is visarga/sun, bindu/moon, and the single bristle that is the emblem of nāda/vajra. Thus, I shall discuss the vajra body, the cosmos, and the aspect of the mandala later on in the commentary.[22]

The birthplace of the mantras originates like that. "Again it is liberated into that itself" means, "again it is liberated, or absorbed, into that itself at the time of contraction."

"One who rightly knows it like that" refers to anyone who knows the vajra body in accordance with an unobscured sequence of exposition such as this. Regarding, "is not a beast": A beast is one who is ignorant. (D 36b)

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22 [The measurements of the cosmos "will be explained" in "The Chapter on Practice."

If one applies them to the vajra body, four - YA, RA, VA, and LA - are below the bladder; MA is the spine; KṢA is from the throat through to the uṣṇīṣa; the letter HA, new moon, and bindu are the three channels. If one applies them to the body that experiences the connate joy, four - the letter YA and so forth - are the forehead, throat, heart, and navel cakras; MA is between the navel and secret (cakras); KṢA is the secret lotus; HA, new moon, and bindu are the three channels of apāna. If one applies them to the mandala, they are similar to the Other: A, source of phenomena, and space; three - the letter HA, new moon, and bindu - are the three seats of moon, sun, and Rāhu.]

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Regarding, "he is liberated from the mind's ideation": Ideation is the phenomenon of imagining the mandala.[23] Liberation from that is liberation from the mind's ideation. (Bu 430)

The Tathāgata stated a brief account of this ten-aspect one in the "Praise of the Very Pure Sphere of Phenomena." Like this:

> He has ten aspects, his aim is the ten aims. He is the lord of sages, he has ten powers, he is the overlord. He performs all of the aims of the universe; he is the ten aspect mighty one, the great one.//(NS 45)
>
> He is the beginningless nonelaborated self, the pure self whose self is suchness. (Bu 431) He speaks the truth, his word does not change; as he says, that he does.//(NS 46)
>
> He says the nondual is nondual, and abides at the limit of reality. He possesses the lion's roar of selflessness; he terrifies the wicked heterodox deer.//(NS 47)

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[23] [In general there are many (kinds of ideation), but here "ideation is the phenomenon of imagining the mandala." This means, 'If one is liberated even from that, what need be said of other (forms of ideation)?']

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The preceding brief account summarizes the vajra body.[24]

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[24] [(Annotations to the NS verses:) (NS 45:) In the Outer cosmos, in the Inner body, on the Other generation process, and on the definitive meaning Other completion process:

(1) In the pratyāhāra phase (sor sdud), from space through earth is from smoke through the cloudless sky by means of the way of the reverse procedure. From Meru through moon is blaze through great drop. The gnosis drawing (*jñānarekhā; ye shes re kha) is a black picture seen by the eye of flesh and so forth.

(2) If one applies it to the dhyāna phase (bsam gtan), the divine image seen through the pratyāhāra phase dwells single-pointedly in a continuum by means of wisdom, thought, analysis, joy, and unmoving bliss.

(3) In the prāṇāyāma phase (srog rtsol) the five left mandalas - space and so forth - and the five right mandalas - the motionless Meru and so forth - i.e., the "ten aspects," become one in the middle (channel).

(4) In the dhāraṇā phase (rdzin pa) one desires and strives for the "ten aims" of the ten winds, prāṇa and so forth.

(5) In the anusmṛti phase (rjes dran) one obtains the ability of that very "aim" - clear connate caṇḍālī. Thus, one is "the lord of sages" because one is able to accomplish the supreme unchanging bliss. Because of the ten desire (realm) states of the middle channel, "he has ten powers." Since the radiance of connate caṇḍālī pervades the three worlds, "he is the overlord." The characteristic of clear connate bliss "performs all of the aims of the universe" of the aggregates, elements, and spheres.

(6) The samādhi phase (ting nge 'dzin) is "the ten aspects" of the cessation of the previously explained ten winds; due to the power of method, wisdom, and unchanging bliss, it is the Gnosis Body. That (samadhi) makes the entire prāṇavāyu (srog rlung) under the control of indivisible supreme unchanging bliss. Thus, it is "the mighty one." Since it pervades the three worlds by means of the connate nature, it is "the great one."

(NS 46:) Since reality is unborn, it is "beginningless." The one consisting of the abandonment of thought, the nonobjectified nature, the mindless mind, is "the nonelaborated self"; i.e., the first vision of the divine image of the universe actualized by nonconceptual thought is virtuous in the beginning. "The self of suchness" - great bliss - is "the pure self"; i.e.,

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A Brief Account that Summarizes the Origination of Rāhu and so forth

(U 57) Now I shall expatiate the sixth verse that summarizes the origination of Rāhu and so forth - "the left limb" and so forth.

Śrī Kālacakra I.6

The white brilliance in the left limb is a part of the world's nectar; the red color is to the right. Rāhu and Kālāgni; the moon and the sun; Mercury and Mars; Venus and Jupiter; Ketu and Saturn; rain and

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virtuous in the middle, because all of the aggregates, elements and spheres have been separated from obscuration by the fire of great passion. "He speaks the truth" about the unmistaken bliss; i.e., he makes it manifestly clear. The bodhicitta that is the very "word" that discloses the way of great bliss does not flow from the tip of the gem and is nonconceptual - virtuous in the end. (Bu 431) It is experienced, it "does not change" by expression. "As he says" - 'Great bliss originates by means of correctly meditating on the path of smoke and so forth' - "that he" himself "does" for sentient beings.

(NS 47:) Having destroyed the relation of base and based between the base - semen, and the based - bliss, they become nondual. Since he makes clear that very "nondual," "he says it is nondual." "He abides" by the mode of nonabiding "at the limit" of the nave of the vajra gem, the place of experiencing the gnosis "of reality" as it is. The characteristic of the non-appearance of all phenomena, the nature of the divine image of the universe, is "selflessness." Since that is not overcome by thought, "it possesses" the indestructible "lion's roar." Self-grasping and the elaboration of object and subject that are the method of mistaken knowledge are "the wicked heterodox." Since they are infirm, they are "deer." Since he makes them all disappear, "he terrifies" them.]

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lightning; and water and fire: these seven pairs of brilliancies existing in the world are a single pair free from darkness, at the end of darkness.//

"The white brilliance [the channel lalanā] in the left limb" is one drop in the left limb of the previously stated indestructible that abides in the middle, that possesses the term of the half-curve emblem. Also, that white brilliance is the light-ray of white [the color of analytical] gnosis. 'A part of the world's nectar' is that [part] itself [- in the Inner, moon/bodhicitta].

"The red color [in the Inner, the channel rasanā] to the right" is the red brilliance possessing the term of the visarga emblem to the right of that indestructible, the light-ray of the red gnosis [of equivalence]. [In the Inner this is sun/bodhicitta].

Also, Rāhu and Kālāgni are outside of those two, to the left and right respectively. Then occur the moon and the sun. (Bu 432) Likewise, (these together with) Mercury and Mars; Venus and Jupiter; Ketu and Saturn; rain and lightning; and water and fire, are the seven pairs. 'In the world' means existing in the cosmos; (the word) 'these' acts as a specification.

The mantra words for these are on the left and right respectively: "AṂ, AḤ; U, Ṛ; Ū, Ṝ; O, AR; AU, ĀR; VA, RA;

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VĀ, RĀ." (D 37a) These seven pairs are the superior deities of the seven week days.

Regarding, 'a single pair free from darkness [i.e., the seven pairs to the left and right, the brilliant light-rays of the white and red gnoses], at the end of darkness [i.e., the middle indestructible]': The forms of the light-rays of the white and red gnoses, separate from darkness, [dwelling] to the left and right of the [middle] indestructible, are the limbs of the indestructible, but others are not.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.7

In back is also yellow: stars, the rainbow, and earth - that is of four types having two divisions. The single wind called "prāṇa" becomes ten types in the crown, in the root, and in front. The seed is above the middle vajra; its own ability together with its host of qualities dwells below. Gnosis and void are everywhere. The peaceful one together with its place is liberated from all existents.//

The word 'also' in "in back is also yellow" means "the light-rays of the yellow [mirror-like] gnosis." In back of the [middle] indestructible is the one possessing the term of the emblem having the shape of a plough [- in the Inner, the channel of the flow of feces]. Outside of that, in the west, is the yellow brilliance together with its aspect.[25] Then there are [two,] the dim stars and the bright stars; likewise, the rainbow.[26] Earth is of two

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25 [The Indian manuscripts have this: rnam pa dang bcas pa'i nub tu.] MSS read: sākārā paścime. Bu reads: nub tu rnam pa dang bcas pa'i nub tu. (The second nub tu is redundant and does not appear in the Skt.) Bu ston's note confuses the issue here. I take sākārā as agreeing with pītadiptiḥ, and cannot see a genitive relation with paścime. Thus, I agree with mKhas grub (TC 703-705).

26 [This should be counted as one because the Indian manuscripts state it in the singular.]

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types, having the form of soil and of stone. Thus, that yellow brilliance is of four types and two types.[27]

"The single wind called 'prāṇa' becomes ten types in the crown, in the root, and in front." The green light-ray [of the gnosis of the sphere of phenomena] above that indestructible [- in the Inner, the channel of Rāhu] is the (1) prāṇavāyu (srog gi rlung) that originates externally from the seed of the void. The blue light-ray [that pervades all five gnoses] (TC 702: "the gnosis of reality") that is below [- in the Inner, the channel of Kalagni] is the (2) apānavāyu (thur du sel ba'i rlung) that originates externally from the seed of gnosis. (Bu 433) Externally, the black light-ray in front is the wind called (3) "samāna" (mnyam gnas). Then, (4) udāna (gyen du rgyu ba), likewise, (5) vyāna (khyab byed), (6) nāga (klu), (7) kūrma (rus sbal), (8) kṛkara (rtsangs pa),[28]

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[27] [Two - fine and rough earth, and two - fine and rough stone, are the "four types." Also, Vibhūticandra's notes say: "The yellow brilliance and so forth are (divided) into four and two by means of the divisions gross and subtle."]

The preceding is complicated, controversial, and obscure. mKhas grub (TC 705) reckons the seven as follows: 1) dim stars, 2) bright stars, 3) rainbow, 4) fine earth, 5) rough earth, 6) fine stone, and 7) rough stone.

[28] Cf. Mhvy 4845, MW 304, Apte 597-598.

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(9) devadatta (lha sbyin), and (10) dhanañjaya (nor las rgyal ba).[29]

Among these, one pair is below and above. To the east and west are seven pairs of wind and earth. Dhanañjaya is androgynous because it does not entirely quit the dead body.[30]

(U 58) The mantra words for these are HA and HĀ, above and below. Then, to the east and west respectively: "A and Ā; I and Ḷ; Ī and Ḹ; E and AL; AI and ĀL; YA and LA; and YĀ LĀ KṢA" are the seven pairs to the east and west. The single pair above and below is at the end of darkness.

The seven pairs are the superior deities of the seven days of the week due to the divisions of the four watches. "On Sunday: at midnight A is rising in the east; AḤ is rising in the south; Ā is rising in the west; AṂ is rising in the north. Monday: I, Ṛ, Ḷ, U. Tuesday: Ī, Ṝ, Ḹ, Ū. (D 37b) Wednesday: E, AR, AL, O. Thursday: AI, ĀR, ĀL, AU. Friday: YA, RA, LA, VA. Saturday: YĀ, RĀ, LĀ, VĀ."

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[29] Winds #3-9 are "the gnosis that accomplishes deeds."

[30] [Since "dhanañjaya is androgynous" (napuṃsaka; ma ning), it is not included within the pair method and wisdom. Also, Vibhūticandra's notes say: "One should not hold dhanañjaya to be stone and earth. If you wonder why, it is because it is androgynous. Thus, its seed is said to be the second KṢA."]

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These are, respectively, the seeds of the watches of the seven days of the week.

Regarding, "the seed is above the middle vajra": The indestructible in the middle of the seeds above, below, east, south, west, and north is a vajra [because it cannot be divided by conceptual thought] having the aspect of a cleaver [- the void]. The seed anusvāra above that, which stays in the left limb, is above [the middle]. (Bu 434)

Regarding, 'its [anusvāra's] own ability together with its host of qualities dwells below': The ability of that anusvāra is visarga. The qualities of the [visarga] are the red light-rays, and the ability together with them is the one together with the host of qualities [of visarga]. It dwells in the shape of a half-moon below the anusvāra. "Own ability" indicates that the east and west emblems are on the feet and head of the indestructible, because they are not stated.[31]

Thus, the five syllable great void is the letter VAṂ̆ in the domain of Vajrasattva; it is the letter HAṂ̆ in the

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[31] [Although "he did not say this" explicitly, by means of the ability of the words "its own ability," from the force of the meaning itself he said that the seven pairs of "east and west emblems are," according to sequence, "at the feet and head of the indestructible."]

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practice of Vajrānaṅga.[32] The six syllable drop void outside of that is called "[its] base letter E" on the side of the [former] letter VAṂ̆; on the side of the [former] letter HAṂ̆ it is the birthplace letter KṢA. These are also vajra and lotus.

Regarding, "Gnosis and void are everywhere": The word 'gnosis' indicates the visarga having the shape of a half-moon above the indestructible. 'Everywhere' indicates that it occurs on all the outer letters. 'Void' indicates a bindu on all of them.

Regarding, "The peaceful one together with its place is liberated from all existents": The peaceful one is the indestructible. Its place is the emblems of east and west. The peaceful one together with that is liberated from all existents. That very one is everywhere; i.e., is on all the phenomena of the external letters - on the feet and head according to the sequence of wind and earth. Above the head is the digit; above the digit is the bindu; above the bindu is the nāda called indestructible.

The mantra words for this are: EṂ̆, VAṂ̆; KṢAṂ̆, HAṂ̆; AṂ̆, AḤṂ̆; ĀṂ̆, AṂ̆; IṂ̆, ĪṂ̆; ṚṂ̆, ṜṂ̆; ḶṂ̆, ḸṂ̆; UṂ̆, ŪṂ̆; EṂ̆, AIṂ̆; ARAṂ̆, ĀRAṂ̆; ALAṂ̆, ĀLAṂ̆; OṂ̆, AUṂ̆; HAṂ̆, HĀṂ̆; YAṂ̆, YĀṂ̆; RAṂ̆, RĀṂ̆; VAṂ̆, VĀṂ̆; LAṂ̆, LĀṂ̆, KṢAṂ̆ (Bu 435). Thus, one should

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[32] [Kāma, i.e., great passion.] Cf. Sādhanamālā #59 & 60.

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know that the five syllable great void pervades all the mantra words that are to be pervaded.

The Bhagavān stated a brief account of this in the Māyājāla King of Tantra. [Like this:]

> The king who bears various illusions; the great one, holder of the spells of the Buddhas, the sharp vajra, the great sword, the supreme unchanging purity.//(NS 111)

Likewise:

> It is digitless, omnipresent, pervasive, subtle, a seed, without defilement. (NS 97cd) It is dustless, separate from dust, devoid of stain; it has abandoned defects, is faultless.//(NS 98ab)

The preceding is a brief account that summarizes the origination of Rāhu and so forth.[33]

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[33] [(Annotations to NS 111:) Since it is beautified by the radiance of gnosis, it is a "king." Since it pretends to enjoy the five objects of desire, it is "illusion." Since there are: menses/visarga/half-moon, and bindu/bodhicitta/the nāda that is the nature of the indestructible, above the letter VA, it "bears various (illusions)." Since it bears the characteristic of the four drops, it is "the great one, holder of the spells of the Buddhas." Since bodhicitta is separate from stain- is the nature of connate gnosis - by having gone to the border of maturation, it is "the sharp vajra." Since it cuts off conceptual thought by means of the concordant cause, it is "the great sword." Since all matured phenomena have a single taste, it is "the supreme unchanging"; i.e., since it is the nature of the countenance of the soul, it is "purity." (N.B.: For NS 111 see also "The Fourth Brief Account," Bu 378.) (NS 97cd:) The unchanging that is beyond the fifteen digits

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A Brief Account that Summarizes the Mantras of the Universe - the Digits of the Moon and so forth

(U 59) Now I shall expatiate the eighth verse that summarizes the increase and decrease of the digits of the moon, the increase and decrease of night and day due to the passages of the sun, and so forth, by means of "A and so forth, the thirty," and so forth.

Śrī Kālacakra I.8

A and so forth, the thirty - the vowels joined with HA, YA, RA, VA, LA - are the digits of the moon. Also, the day-maker sun courses in the series of KA and so forth endowed with vowels by the measures of zero six fire (360) solar days. HA and so forth, that are also vowels, are the nāḍīs. Gods, humans, and hooded nagas, as well as the birthplaces of living beings, are 'mantras.' Indeed, O King, the

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is "digitless." Since gnosis is the nature of space, it is "omnipresent." Since it is the nature of all inanimate and animate things, it is "pervasive." Since it is not within the range of even mind, it is "subtle." Since it spontaneously gives birth to bliss, it is "a seed." Since the gnosis of the sphere of phenomena is to be known by oneself individually, it is "without defilement." (NS 98ab:) Since great passion - the Fourth - is devoid of the dust of passion, separation from passion, and the passion of the middle, it is "dustless." Since it pure by nature, it is "separate from dust." It is "devoid of" adventitious "stain." Since it is devoid of own-being, "it has abandoned defects." Since it does not have the sickness of external distraction, it is "faultless."]

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three realms are generated like this from A and so forth joined with KA and so forth.//

(D 38a) Regarding, "A and so forth, the thirty - the vowels joined with HA, YA, RA, VA, LA - are the digits of the moon": The letter I and so forth, whose first is the letter A, are also 'A and so forth.' (Bu 436) Those joined with HA, YA, RA, VA, LA are short, long, guṇa, and vṛddhi. The semivowels HA and so forth make thirty by means of the divisions of short and long.[34]

These [white lunar fortnight and black lunar fortnight] that are the cause of the increase and diminishing of the digits of the moon become threefold due to division into fives - the first lunar day and so forth. By means of the divisions [of the three sets of five -] nandā and so forth, nandā is threefold, bhadrā is threefold, jayā is threefold, riktā is threefold, and pūrṇā is threefold. This is due to the divisions tamas, rajas, and sattva, and the divisions weak, medium, and excessive.

The fifteen digits of increase are threefold in the white lunar fortnight [- the processes of birth],

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[34] Thus, there are five short vowels, five long vowels, five guṇa, five vṛddhi, five short semivowels, and five long semivowels.

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dwelling by the nature of the elements, space and so forth. Here, the first lunar day is A, the second I, the third Ṛ, the fourth U, the fifth Ḷ. Nandā, bhadrā, jayā, riktā, and pūrṇā, respectively the space, wind, fire, water, and earth elements, are the weak measures of the first lifting of tamas.

Then, the second phase is the division of guṇa: the sixth is A, the seventh E, the eighth AR, the ninth O, and the tenth AL. Nandā, bhadrā, jayā, riktā, and pūrṇā are the elements space, wind, fire, water, and earth. The weak measure of the first lifting of tamas of the former section [- the first lunar day through the fifth] become the medium measures [here from the sixth through the tenth]. [Here, the sixth through the tenth itself is] the weak measure of the lifting of rajas.

Then, in the third section are the semivowels HA, and so forth: the eleventh is HA, the twelfth ẎA, the thirteenth RA, the fourteenth VA, full moon LA. (Bu 437) Nandā, bhadrā, jayā, riktā, and pūrṇā are the elements space, wind, fire, water, and earth. [The weak measure of the lifting of] rajas of the second section [- the sixth through the tenth,] is the medium measure [here from the eleventh through the fifteenth]. The weak measure of the lifting of tamas of the first section [the first through the fifth, that becomes medium during the period of the

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second section,] is the excessive measure [here between the eleventh and the fifteenth].[35]

The divisions of this [weak measure of the lifting of the tamas of sattva, the first section that becomes excessive during the period of the third (section),] are fivefold: Because of the divisions of the sattva guṇa, the excessive measure of the digit of the first lunar day of the first (section) is a girl on the eleventh. [Likewise, that digit of the first lunar day] is a maiden on the twelfth [due to its excessive measure]. On the thirteenth it is a young woman. On the fourteenth it is an old woman. On the fifteenth it is fully matured. Thus, the digit of the first lunar day that has become fully matured [due to its excessive measure] on the fifteenth is denoted by "pūrṇā." Thus, the increase of the digit of the moon in the white lunar fortnight is

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[35] [Guru Vibhūticandra's personal Indian manuscript has this: The third section, the lifting of the tamas of sattva itself, is the weak measure. The second section is the medium measure of rajas. The first section is the excessive measure.]

All MSS literally read: "The lifting of tamas is of the weak measure. In the second section the measure of rajas is medium. In the first section is an excessive measure."

The Sanskrit text, all MSS, seems to be syntactically confused here. Bu ston's translation of Vibhūticandra's MS reflects this also. I can make no sense out of the Sanskrit as it stands, so I translate according to Bu (and TC 724/6), which transposes tama udyāṭanamṛdumātrā to follow prathamakāṇḍe.

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divided into the fifteen divisions. At the end of that, the [beginning] time of the entrance of tamas [that lifts the white lunar fortnight] at the beginning of the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight is called "the sixteenth digit."

At the end of that, the digit [that lifted the tamas] of the first lunar day of the white lunar fortnight, [that had become matured by the excessive measure,] enters the tamas of the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight; the second digit [- lunar day -] of the white lunar fortnight is fully matured [here in the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight by means of the excessive measure]. [The third (digit) becomes an old woman.] Then, [the digit of] the second [lunar day of the white lunar fortnight] also enters the tamas of the second [lunar day of the black lunar fortnight by means of the excessive measure]; [the digit of] the third [lunar day of the white lunar fortnight] is fully matured [by the excessive measure on that second lunar day of the black lunar fortnight]. (Bu 438) Likewise, [the third (lunar day) of the white digits] also enters the tamas of the third (lunar day) of the black lunar fortnight. Likewise, the fourth [lunar day of the white digits] and so forth, ending with the fifteenth digit [of the white lunar fortnight] are fully matured [on the fourteenth day of the

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black lunar fortnight by the excessive measure, and on the new moon] they enter tamas. Then, Rāhu enters at the end of the new moon, at the junction of the rising of the first digit [of the white lunar fortnight], and [at the end of the full moon,] at the first part of the rising of the sixteenth division.

Thus, there are two types of eclipses: Rāhu devours the moon on the full moon - at the end of the pūrṇā digit, (U 60) and (the sun) on the new moon - at the beginning of the rising of the first digit.

Here, tamas enters in the black lunar fortnight by means of the process of absorbtion, by earth and so forth; therefore, it consumes those that have arisen by the process of emission. The space digit of the first lunar day of the white lunar fortnight enters the earth tamas of the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight and is covered by tamas. The second [white digit -] the wind digit is covered by [the second black digit -] the water tamas. The third [white digit -] the fire digit is covered by [the third black digit -] the fire tamas. The fourth [white digit -] the water digit is covered by the [fourth black digit -] the wind tamas. The fifth [white digit -] the earth digit is covered by the [fifth black digit -] the space element tamas. Thus, the measure of the entrance of tamas in the first section is weak.

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[During this period the weak measure of the lifting of rajas of the white lunar fortnight becomes of an excessive measure; then, the (weak) lifting of sattva (of the first section) becomes of the medium measure (in the second).]

Then, in the second section also, tamas acts as a covering according to the stated process: In that second section, the weak measure of tamas of the first section is the medium measure of the second.[36]

(Bu 439) Likewise, tamas acts as a covering in the third section also: In that [third] section, [the third section itself has a] weak measure [and the former] second section [here becomes] a medium measure, [and the former first (section) here is] the third section's excessive measure.[37]

Regarding that [first section that becomes excessive during the period of the third,] the divisions of excessive measure are fivefold: due to the division of the excessive measure of tamas, [the digit of the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight] is a boy [by the

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36 [(Vibhūticandra's personal Indian manuscript says:) In that (second section), the second section (itself) has a weak measure of tamas. The first section has a medium measure.]

37 [(Vibhūticandra's personal Indian manuscript says:) In that (third) section there is a weak measure. The second section has a medium measure. The third has an excessive measure.]

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excessive measure] on the eleventh [of the black lunar fortnight]; on the twelfth, a youth; on the thirteenth, a young man; on the fourteenth, an old man; on the new moon it is fully matured.

Likewise, the second section [of the black lunar fortnight is here the boy and so forth] of the middle measure; and the third section [itself is the boy and so forth] of the weak measure.

Then, when the first lunar day of the white lunar fortnight has come, the tamas matured [by the excessive measure,] that is characterized as the earth element [- the first lunar day of the black lunar fortnight -] is dispelled (MSS B&D: apaśaraṇam = apaharaṇam?; sel ba). On the second [lunar day of the white lunar fortnight, the second lunar day of the black lunar fortnight -] the water tamas [is dispelled, is enveloped by that]. On the third, the fire tamas (is dispelled); on the fourth, the wind tamas; on the fifth, the space tamas.

Thus, the first digit [of the white lunar fortnight], the weak measure [of the first lunar day nandā] is matured [by the weak measure (of the dispelling of tamas) at the time of the rising of] the pūrṇā of the earth [element, the fifth lunar day]. (D 39a) The second [white digit] is an old woman [by the weak measure when the fifth, pūrṇā, rises]. The third [white digit] is a young woman

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[on the fifth by the weak measure]. The fourth [white digit] is a maiden [on the fifth by the weak measure]. the fifth [white digit itself] is a girl [by the weak measure]. [The other white digits,] the sixth and so forth [through the fifteenth] remain [in the mode of] having set [on the fifth].

Thus, although the digits are weakly matured in the weak section, as long as the third, excessive measure is not matured, tamas does not enter in the black lunar fortnight.

(Bu 440) These fifteen digits of the individual [waxing and waning phases] that set [on the sixteenth- they remained set for fifteen lunar days - then] rise on the sixteenth day. The ones that rose [- having remained (risen) for fifteen lunar days - then] set on the sixteenth day.

Thus, the thirty vowels A and so forth are terms for the digits of the moon. They are the white digits, and by secondary application to the entrance of tamas, they possess the terms of the black lunar fortnight.

The vowel mantra words for these first lunar days and so forth of the white and black lunar fortnights are as follows: "AṂ̆, IṂ̆, ṚṂ̆, UṂ̆, ḶṂ̆; AṂ̆, EṂ̆, ARṂ̆, OṂ̆, ALṂ̆; HAṂ̆, YAṂ̆, RAṂ̆, VAṂ̆, LAṂ̆ / LĀḤ, VĀḤ, RĀḤ, YĀḤ, HĀḤ; ĀLḤ, AUḤ, ĀRḤ, AIH, ĀḤ; ḶḤ, ŪḤ, ṚḤ, ĪḤ, ĀḤ."

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In the white lunar fortnight the moon adorned with the bindu consists of fifteen digits. In the black lunar fortnight the sun adorned with the visarga covers the fifteen digits [of the moon]. The short (vowels) are the moon. The long (vowels) are the sun. Likewise, guṇa (vowels) are the moon. Vṛddhi (vowels) are the sun. HA and so forth are as before [since they are divided by the divisions short and long].

[The six series, KA and so forth, are the six elements, space and so forth, and the six families. The five in each of them are five elements and five families, i.e., in one month there are five sections of six lunar days - the five families. In each of those are the six elements, space and so forth, and the six families. These should be applied to the result - the five gnoses, the path - the five great voids, the five Agnis, and the five Buddhas.]

Regarding, "The day-maker sun courses in the series of KA and so forth endowed with vowels by the measures of void six fire [360 solar days]": Here, those series whose first is the letter KA series are the series of the letter KA and so forth. A "series" is an assemblage of five syllables. The divisions of space and so forth (denote the six series), and earth and so forth denote (the

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members of the series) as five. The divisions space and so forth thoroughly denote the assemblage of vowels.

Here is the suggestive rule for pratyāhāra [from the Mañjuśrīvyākaraṇa]: Here there are thirty pure consonants, (which differs) from the universal denotation of the consonants. The letters YA and so forth, that are modifications of the vowels, are denoted in the section of the vowels A and so forth; elsewhere they are included among the denotations of the consonants, the letter KA and so forth.[38] Like this: "A, I, Ṛ, U, Ḷ K; A, E, AR, O, ALC; HA, YA, RA, VA, LAṬ." Following that: "ṄA, ÑA, ṆA, MA, NAN; GHA, JHA, ḌHA, BHA, DHADH; GA, JA, ḌA, BA, DAD; KHA, CHA, ṬHA, PHA, THATH; KA, CA, ṬA, PA, TAT; ḤKA, ŚA, ṢA, ḤPA, SAS." (U 60) [Just as "AṬ" indicates the fifteen

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[38] I think the Tibetan translation misconstrues the grammar and syntax of the preceding passage. Bu reads: "Here is the suggestive rule for pratyāhāra [from the Mañjuśrīvyākaraṇa:] Regarding the universal denotations of the consonants, here there are thirty pure consonants; the letter YA and so forth are not otherwise included within the denotation of the consonants, the letter KA and so forth. [The reason for] denoting them in the section of the vowels A and so forth [is that] they are modifications of the vowels."

The meaning basically amounts to the same thing, but I think my translation follows the Sanskrit more closely. The "Mañjuśrīvyākaraṇa" is probably the Mañjuśrīśabdavyākaraṇa. This text seems to be lost, but a large commentary on it is preserved in the Tanjur (Peking #5910). I have not traced this apparently idiosyncratic classification of the semivowels among the vowels in the commentary, but it would be worthwhile to do so.

For the meaning of pratyāhāra see Apte 1088.

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vowel letters, and "ṄAS" the thirty consonants,] from the first and last denotation [KA and CA and so forth indicate the meaning of pratyāhāra.]

The letter YA and so forth are not within the series of the letter KA and so forth because they have the properties of the vowels due to saṃprasāraṇa.[39]

Therefore, thirty - the six series of KA and so forth - comprise the consonants. KA, CA, ṬA, PA, TA, and SA are the natures of the elements space, wind, fire, water, earth, and gnosis due to their being pronounced from the throat, palate, roof of the palate, lips, and teeth. The sixth [ḤKA series] consists of the five elements in its particular pronunciation (because it is pronounced from all five places).

(D 39b) Those series, KA and so forth, are endowed with vowels. The vowels are A and so forth, five short and five long; combined they are ten. The anusvāra at the end of the short (vowels) is the sixth vowel. The visarga at the end of the long (vowels) is the sixth vowel. Also, these should be pronounced by means of the conjunction of

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39 ["Saṃprasāraṇa" (rab tu brjod pa) is the change of the four - YA, RA, VA, LA, into the four - I, Ṛ, U, Ḷ. (It is also translated as) "slar bsgyur ba" and "slar 'pho ba."] Cf. Apte 1647 & appendix F p. 109; Aṣṭādhyāyī I.1.45.

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the vowels and consonants; those that are joined with those vowels are 'endowed with the vowels.'

(Bu 442) Regarding, 'The day-maker sun[40] courses...by the measures of zero six fire': ("The measures of zero six fire") means "by three hundred and sixty solar days." These measures of zero six fire make up the twelve months, as well as the two passages. There are one hundred and eighty solar days in each of the southern and northern passages.

[Here, the five semivowels in just one solar day are the five syllable great void; the six vowels are the six syllable drop void. Also, in that (solar day) the two- short and long (vowels) - abide as method and wisdom. Also, in one month the five consonants are the five syllable great void, and the six vowels are the six syllable drop void. Also, by the force of the individual abodes in one passage, the five series of the five elements' six consonants are the five syllable great void; the six vowels are the six syllable (drop void). The same is the case in the year. Their short is the moon and their long is the sun. "The stainless light of the vajra moon" (NS 109b) is the letter VAṂ, method, great

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[40] Here Bu translates dinakara (nyin byed) as nyin zhag (dina), following the Tibetan of Śrī Kālacakra I.8ab which transposes the two due to syntax; I translate according to the Sanskrit.

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compassion, the five syllable great void. "The vajra sun, the great radiance" (NS 109a) is the letter E, wisdom, emptiness, the six syllable drop void.]

Due to the division of the months of transit, the sun courses for six months in the six series having the six short vowels, by the process of the emission of space and so forth, in the southern passage - Cancer and so forth. Then, it courses for six months in the six series having long vowels, by the division of earth and so forth, in the northern passage. Nighttime increases where it courses in (the consonants) having the short vowels. Daytime increases where it courses in (the consonants) having long vowels.

Here, the southern passage is the moon. The northern passage is the sun. A single consonant is the moon. Two consonants conjoined is the sun. Three consonants conjoined is Rāhu. Likewise, "a short vowel is the moon; a long, the sun; and a prolonged (vowel) is Rāhu": this is universal. Thus, due to the prolongation of Rāhu, tamas is threefold, consisting of weak, medium, and excessive (tamas).

Here, the sun courses in the letter ṄA, having the letter A, of the KA series by means of the division of emission in the (first) solar day of the transit of Cancer. (Bu 443) On the second, ṄI; on the third, ṄṚ; on

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the fourth, ṄU; on the fifth, ṄḶ; on the sixth, ṄAṂ. Likewise, it courses in the letter GHA starting on the seventh solar day, ending on the twelfth solar day, just as it coursed in the letter ṄA. Likewise, it courses in the letter GA with vowel through the end of the eighteenth solar day. It courses in the letter KHA through the twenty-fourth solar day. Likewise, It courses in the letter KA with vowel through the thirtieth solar day. In some void solar days (it courses in) the indestructible.

Likewise, it courses in the letter ÑA and so forth with vowels by means of the thirty solar days of the month of Leo's transit.

It courses in the letter ṆA and so forth with vowels by means of the solar days of the transit of Virgo.

It courses in the letter MA and so forth with vowels by means of the solar days of the transit of Libra.

It courses in the letter NA and so forth with vowels by means of the solar days of the transit of Scorpio.

It courses in the consonants ḤKA and so forth with vowels by means of the solar days of the transit of Sagittarius.

Thus, in the southern passage (the sun) courses in the six series with vowels amounting to one hundred and eighty, by means of the solar days of six months. (D 40a)

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It does this by means of the division of the increase of nighttime, the nature of the moon.

Then, the reversed order, the letter SA and so forth, expresses the division of the northern passage. The sun courses in the six series with vowels by means of the division of the solar days of the months of the transits of Capricorn and so forth; it courses in the letters with long vowels through the process of contraction.

Here, (the sun) courses in SSĀḤ with vowel on the (first) solar day of the transit of Capricorn. On the second, in SSḸ with vowel. On the third, SSŪ; the fourth, SSṜ; the fifth, SSĪ; the sixth, SSĀ. Likewise, by means of six subsequent days: (Bu 444) ḤPḤPĀḤ, ḤPḤPḸ, ḤPḤPŪ, ḤPḤPṜ, ḤPḤPĪ, ḤPḤPĀ. Likewise, ṢA; just so, ŚA. Likewise: ḤKḤKĀḤ, ḤKḤKḸ, ḤKḤKŪ, ḤKḤKṜ, ḤKḤKĪ, ḤKḤKĀ. (U 62) Like that, (the sun) courses in the SA series with vowel through the thirty solar days of the transit of Capricorn.

Likewise, (the sun) courses in the TA series, PA series, ṬA series, CA series, and the KA series, with vowels, by means of the solar days of the transits of Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini through one hundred and eighty solar days.

Until the transit of Cancer, daytime increases. The

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increase of daytime is sun; it should by known by means of the nature of contraction.

Here, the syllables whose nature is the increase of nighttime and daytime are as follows:

The increase of daytime: "ṄA, ṄI, ṄṚ, ṄU, ṄḶ, ṄAṂ; GHA, GHI, GHṚ, GHU, GHḶ, GHAṂ; GA, GI, GṚ, GU, GḶ, GAṂ; KHA, KHI, KHṚ, KHU, KHḶ, KHAṂ; KA, KI, KṚ, KU, KḶ, KAṂ"- the increase in Cancer.

"ÑA, ÑI, ÑṚ, ÑU, ÑḶ, ÑAṂ; JHA, JHI, JHṚ, JHU, JHḶ, JHAṂ; JA, JI, JṚ, JU, JḶ, JAṂ; CHA, CHI, CHṚ, CHU, CHḶ, CHAṂ; CA, CI, CṚ, CU, CḶ, CAṂ" - the increase of Leo.

"ṆA, ṆI, ṆṚ, ṆU, ṆḶ, ṆAṂ; ḌHA, ḌHI, ḌHṚ, ḌHU, ḌHḶ, ḌHAṂ; ḌA, ḌI, ḌṚ, ḌU, ḌḶ, ḌAṂ; ṬHA, ṬHI, ṬHṚ, ṬHU, ṬHḶ, ṬHAṂ; ṬA, ṬI, ṬṚ, ṬU, ṬḶ, ṬAṂ" - the increase of Virgo.

"MA, MI, MṚ, MU, MḶ, MAṂ; BHA, BHI, BHṚ, BHU, BHḶ, BHAṂ; BA, BI, BṚ, BU, BḶ, BAṂ; PHA, PHI, PHṚ, PHU, PHḶ, PHAṂ; PA, PI, PṚ, PU, PḶ, PAṂ" - the increase of Libra.

"NA, NI, NṚ, NU, NḶ, NAṂ; DHA, DHI, DHṚ, DHU, DHḶ, DHAṂ; DA, DI, DṚ, DU, DḶ, DAṂ; THA, THI, THṚ, THU, THḶ, THAṂ; TA, TI, TṚ, TU, TḶ, TAṂ" - the increase of Scorpio.

"ḤKA, ḤKI, ḤKṚ, ḤKU, ḤKḶ, ḤKAṂ; ŚA, ŚI, ŚṚ, ŚU, ŚḶ, ŚAṂ; ṢA, ṢI, ṢṚ, ṢU, ṢḶ, ṢAṂ; ḤPA, ḤPI, ḤPṚ, ḤPU, ḤPḶ, ḤPAṂ; SA, SI, SṚ, SU, SḶ, SAṂ" - are in the transit of Sagittarius. Nighttime increases and daytime wanes by means of the solar days of six months.

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Then, daytime increases in Capricorn and so forth: "SSĀḤ, SSḸ, SSŪ, SSṜ, SSĪ, SSĀ; ḤPḤPĀḤ, ḤPḤPḸ, ḤPḤPŪ, ḤPḤPṜ, ḤPḤPĪ, ḤPḤPĀ; ṢṢĀḤ, ṢṢḸ, ṢṢŪ, ṢṢṜ, ṢṢĪ, ṢṢĀ; ś́ś́ĀḤ, ś́ś́Ḹ, ś́ś́Ū, ś́ś́Ṝ, ś́ś́Ī, ś́ś́Ā; ḤKḤKĀḤ, ḤKḤKḸ, ḤKḤKŪ, ḤKḤKṜ, ḤKḤKĪ, ḤKḤKĀ" - the increase in Capricorn.

(Bu 445) "TTĀḤ, TTḸ, TTŪ, TTṜ, TTĪ, TTĀ; THTHĀḤ, THTHḸ, THTHŪ, THTHṜ, THTHĪ, THTHĀ; DDĀḤ, DDḸ, DDŪ, DDṜ, DDĪ, DDĀ; DHDHĀḤ, DHDHḸ, DHDHŪ, DHDHṜ, DHDHĪ, DHDHĀ; (D 40b) NNĀḤ, NNḸ, NNŪ, NNṜ, NNĪ, NNĀ" - the increase in Aquarius.

"PPĀḤ, PPḸ, PPŪ, PPṜ, PPĪ, PPĀ; PHPHĀḤ, PHPHḸ, PHPHŪ, PHPHṜ, PHPHĪ, PHPHĀ; BBĀḤ, BBḸ, BBŪ, BBṜ, BBĪ, BBĀ; BHBHĀḤ, BHBHḸ, BHBHŪ, BHBHṜ, BHBHĪ, BHBHĀ; MMĀḤ, MMḸ, MMŪ, MMṜ, MMĪ, MMĀ" - the increase in Pisces.

"ṬṬĀḤ, ṬṬḸ, ṬṬŪ, ṬṬṜ, ṬṬĪ, ṬṬĀ; ṬHṬHĀḤ, ṬHṬHḸ, ṬHṬHŪ, ṬHṬHṜ, ṬHṬHĪ, ṬHṬHĀ; ḌḌĀḤ, ḌḌḸ, ḌḌŪ, ḌḌṜ, ḌḌĪ, ḌḌĀ; ḌHḌHĀḤ, ḌHḌHḸ, ḌHḌHŪ, ḌHḌHṜ, ḌHḌHĪ, ḌHḌHĀ; ṆṆĀḤ, ṆṆḸ, ṆṆŪ, ṆṆṜ, ṆṆĪ, ṆṆĀ" - the increase in Aries.

"CCĀḤ, CCḸ, CCŪ, CCṜ, CCĪ, CCĀ; CHCHĀḤ, CHCHḸ, CHCHŪ, CHCHṜ, CHCHĪ, CHCHĀ; JJĀḤ, JJḸ, JJŪ, JJṜ, JJĪ, JJĀ; JHJHĀḤ, JHJHḸ, JHJHŪ, JHJHṜ, JHJHĪ, JHJHĀ; ÑÑĀḤ, ÑÑḸ, ÑÑŪ, ÑÑṜ, ÑÑĪ, ÑÑĀ" - the increase in Taurus.

"KKĀḤ, KKḸ, KKŪ, KKṜ, KKĪ, KKĀ; KHKHĀḤ, KHKHḸ, KHKHŪ, KHKHṜ, KHKHĪ, KHKHĀ; GGĀḤ, GGḸ, GGŪ, GGṜ, GGĪ, GGĀ; GHGHĀḤ, GHGHḸ, (U 63) GHGHŪ, GHGHṜ, GHGHĪ, GHGHĀ; ṄṄĀḤ,

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ṄṄḶ, ṄṄŪ, ṄṄR̄, ṄṄĪ, ṄṄĀ" - the increase of daytime in Gemini. Up to the end of six months, (nighttime) decreases.

Thus, in the southern passage the consonants and the short vowels they are conjoined with are both the characteristic of moon. In the northern passage the pairs of conjunct consonants and the long vowels they are conjoined with are both the characteristic of sun. A single consonant conjoined with a long vowel consists of moon and sun. Likewise, two conjunct consonants conjoined with a short vowel consist of sun and moon. Likewise, due to the division of vowels and consonants moon is twofold and sun is twofold.

(Bu 446) Regarding, "One should likewise know the consonants conjoined with guṇa and vṛddhi": The division of the vowels of the sun's daily motion (caraṇa; rkang pa) by means of the passages, and the other division of the vowels that is differentiated into three hundred and sixty divisions due to the flowing of the five mandalas, space and so forth, will be explained below (in "The Chapter on the Soul").

The Bhagavān stated a brief account of this in the Māyājāla King of Tantra:

The great Mind of all Buddhas dwells in the Mind of

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all Buddhas; the great Body of all Buddhas, the Speech of all Buddhas.//(NS 108)

The vajra sun, the great radiance, the stainless light of the vajra moon; first of the passionless, the great passion, the blazing light of various colors.//(NS 109)[41]

Here, the fifth, tenth, and full moon in the white lunar fortnight are passion. The fifth, tenth, and new moon in the black lunar fortnight are passionless. In the middle of these two [- passion and passionless], at the conclusion of the three pūrṇās, at the end of the joyless,[42] the yoga that is the unified mixture of the five syllable great void [- the connate joy], is the

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[41] [(NS 108:) "All Buddhas" are completely without harmful thoughts because of their nature of great compassion; thus, it is "the great Mind." The mindless mind "dwells in the Mind of all Buddhas," i.e., is absorbed into its very entity. Since the sphere of phenomena Gnosis Body pervades all phenomena, it is "the great Body of all Buddhas." "The Speech of all Buddhas" is the void that is the current of bliss of incomprehensible Body, Speech, and Mind. (NS 109:) "The vajra sun, the great radiance" means the letter E of the right channel. "The stainless light of the vajra moon" means the letter VAṂ of the left channel. "The first of the passionless" at the end of passion, the Fourth that consists of connate (joy) is "the great passion." Since "the blazing light of various colors" is inserted in the middle (channel), it is called "the vajra cross-legged perfect Buddha" (=NS 110a).]

[42] viramānta; dga' bral gyi mtha'. For discussion of this term see: Snellgrove (1959a:35, 75 [n. 3]); Kvaerne (1975:111).

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Heart (hṛdaya; thugs) of the Tathāgatas. Therefore, the great Mind (citta; thugs) of all Buddhas is moon, the great void at the end of the sixteen digits.

[That] dwells in the Mind of all Buddhas: it is sun at the end of the new moon, at the junction of the rising of the first digit; (D 41a) it is the six syllable drop void at the end of the sixteen tamas. [It is the E, the source of phenomena, wisdom, void, Mother (*mātṛ; yum).]

Likewise, the great Body of all Buddhas is great void. The Speech of all Buddhas is drop void. The vajra sun, the great radiance, is the six syllable drop void. The stainless light of the vajra moon is the five syllable great void. [At the time of the southern passage, syllable is method.]

The Dharma of wisdom and method shall be extensively explained in what follows (in the "Chapter on the Soul"), and so will 'the birthplace of mantra without syllables, the great mantra whose families are three' (NS 143bc).

Now are stated the nāḍīs of nighttime and daytime of each solar day: "HA and so forth, that are also vowels, are the nāḍīs." Since these, HA and so forth, are also vowels, there are the vowels HA and so forth. The words 'that are also' (indicate that at other times they are) consonants. These together with the twelve vowels [-

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five short, five long, bindu, and visarga] make the sixty vowels.

Regarding that, during the increase of nighttime those consisting of the thirty vowels joined with short vowels are from midday through midnight. [And, those long vowels are from midnight through midday.] During the increase of daytime the thirty joined with long vowels are from midnight through midday. [And, those having short vowels are from midday through midnight.] Thus, one should know the increase of nighttime and daytime in each solar day.

Here, the mantra words are in the increase of nighttime by means of the process of emission, and are in the increase of daytime by means of the process of contraction. Like this:

"HA, HI, HṚ, HU, HḶ, HAṂ; YA, YI, YṚ, YU, YḶ, YAṂ; RA, RI, RṚ, RU, RḶ, RAṂ; VA, VI, VṚ, VU, VḶ, VAṂ; LA, LI, LṚ, LU, LḶ, LAṂ." This is nighttime. It is wisdom due to the division of emotion (bhāva; bsam pa); it is method due to the division of body.

"LLĀḤ, LLḸ, LLŪ, LLṜ, LLĪ, LLĀ; VVĀḤ, VVḸ, VVŪ, VVṜ, VVĪ, VVĀ; RRĀḤ, RRḸ, RRŪ, RRṜ, RRĪ, RRĀ; YYĀḤ, YYḸ, YYŪ, YYṜ, YYĪ, YYĀ; HHĀḤ, HHḸ, HHŪ, HHṜ, HHĪ, HHĀ." (Bu 448) This is daytime. It is method due to the division of emotion; it wisdom due to the division of body.

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Semen and moon [- the meanings of the letter VAṂ -] are wisdom because they originate from the emotion of prajñā; they are method because they originate from the body of upāya. (U 64) Likewise, menses and sun [- the meanings of the letter E -] are method because they originate from the emotion of upāya; they are wisdom because they originate from the body of prajñā. It should be comprehended like this everywhere.

Now are stated the mantras of the inanimate and animate three realms: "gods, humans, and hooded nagas, as well as the birthplaces of living beings, are 'mantras'." The gods are those of the desire, form, and formless (realms); the demons are also included among them. Humans and hooded nagas are well known - [kings], Ananta, and so forth. The birthplaces of living beings are the previously mentioned four kinds. The birthplaces of the inanimate (world) are Meru, trees, and so forth.

All these [having applied their individual names and OṂ and so forth] are mantras; they are indicative (saṃjñitā; ming can du byas pa) due to the mantra terms.

Here in the three realms, [since the environment, the inhabitants, and all existents each have individual names,] the name of something is a mantra symbol in order to accomplish that: the first syllable is the seed of gnosis, and the entire name is recited mantra (jāpamantra;

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bzlas pa'i sngags). [Therefore,] in order to accomplish various aims [- pacification, and so forth,] one should comprehend limitless mantras by means of the division of the names of limitless sentient beings.

For example, for virtuous and nonvirtuous results, the first syllable of a name (establishes) the zodiacal house, (D 41b) and also, all the syllables of the names (of the opponents indicate the victor and loser as a result of) the battle of the deficient and excessive vowels. Likewise, the first syllable, as well as all names [respectively] accomplish the work of meditation and recitation. (Bu 449) That dependent origination [the origination of a result from the assemblage of its causes] is unerring, and that the power of gems, mantras, and medicines arises from the transformation of one's own mind, is indeed inconceivable.

[Since there is no first syllable of a name that is not included within ā̲li̲-kā̲li̲] "from A and so forth joined with KA and so forth...": A and so forth are the letter A and so forth - the assemblage of vowels. 'From those joined with KA and so forth' means from those joined with the consonants, the letter KA and so forth. "Indeed, O king" is a vocative. 'Are generated like this' means

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according to this stated sequence. 'The three realms' are the desire, form, and formless realms.[43]

The preceding is a brief account that summarizes the mantras of the universe - the digits of the moon, and so forth.

A Specification of the Places of Birth of the Vowels

Now I shall expatiate the ninth verse that summarizes the places of birth of the vowels and so forth by means of "The places of birth," and so forth.

Śrī Kālacakra I.9

The places of birth of the vowels joined with KA, CA, ṬA, PA, TA, that are conjoined with ḤKA and so forth, are the throat, palate, and upper part - space, wind, and the oblation-born fire, and the lips and teeth - water and earth. A and so forth are sequentially in the uṣṇīṣa cakra, the heart, throat, head, and navel cakras: they are variegated, black, red, moon, and golden; they have the superior divinities of the aggregates and elements.//

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[43] Here Bu rearranges the text to follow the syntax of Śrī Kālacakra (T) I.8d. I translate according to the Sanskrit.

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Regarding, "The places of birth of the vowels joined with KA, CA, ṬA, PA, TA, that are conjoined with ḤKA and so forth...": Here, the vowels are the previously stated letter A and so forth - the five A, I, Ṛ, U, Ḷ. Their places of birth are fivefold according to the sequence.

If you ask what these [vowels][44] are, (the tantra) says, "joined with KA, CA, ṬA, PA, TA, that are conjoined with ḤKA and so forth..." According to the sequence, they are joined with the series of the letter KA and so forth. (U 65) They are joined with the individual syllables ḤKA and so forth; i.e., they are conjoined with ḤKA, ŚA, ṢA, ḤPA, and SA. Since (the tantra) says 'and so forth,' they have HA, YA, RA, VA, and LA.

And likewise, their places of birth are stated [to be five because of the division of the five elements and the five families]: "A, KU, HA, and visarjanīya (i.e., visarga) are the gutturals. I, CU, YA, and ŚA are the palatals. (Bu 450) Ṛ, ṬU, RA, and ṢA are the cerebrals. U, PU, VA, and upadhmānīya[45] are the labials. Ḷ, TU, LA, and SA are the dentals."

If you ask what the throat, palate, and upper part [i.e., the top of the head] are, they are the places of

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[44] This annotation appears in the text of Bu, but not in MSS.

[45] Bu: ḤPA. Cf. Apte 449.

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space, wind, and the oblation-born fire. The lips and teeth are the places of birth of water and fire. The birth there of the letter A and so forth according to sequence is "birth" - the comprehension of the meaning of the sounds of the (syllables) that are pronounced in those places.

(D 42a) Here, one should know the places of birth in order to effect the mantra recitation procedure. Others are stated by means of the division of the cakras in the body, as places of meditation [on the divinities of the five families in the body].

Regarding, 'A and so forth are sequentially in the uṣṇīṣa cakra, the heart, throat, head, and navel cakras...': "A and so forth" means one should understand the places of birth according to the sequence of the vowels - the letter A and so forth, and by means of the division of the races of space and so forth, in order to meditate on the sequence of cakras - the uṣṇīṣa and so forth.

Here, one should meditate on AKU, HA, and visarjanīya [the space element, Akṣobhaya's family] in the uṣṇīṣa cakra. One should meditate on ICU, YA, and ŚA [wind, Amoghasiddhi's family] in the heart cakra; ṚṬU, RA, and ṢA [fire, Ratnasambhava's family] in the throat cakra; UPU, VA, and upadhmānīya [water, Amitābha's family] in the

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forehead cakra; and ḶTU, LA, and SA [earth, Vairocana's family] in the navel cakra.

[Regarding their colors:] 'Variegated' is the variegated color green - the uṣṇīṣa cakra. Black is the heart cakra. Red is the throat cakra. The color of moon is the forehead cakra. Golden is the navel cakra.

Regarding, 'they have the superior divinities of the aggregates and elements' [the basis of purification (sbyang gzhi)]: (Bu 451) According to sequence, the uṣṇīṣa cakra has the superior divinity of the consciousness aggregate and space element. The heart cakra has the superior divinity of construction and the wind element. Likewise, the throat cakra has the superior divinity of feeling and the fire element. The forehead cakra has the superior divinity of perception and the water element. The navel cakra has the superior divinity of form and the earth element. Like that, one should understand the ones having the superior divinities of the aggregates and elements with regard to the placement (of the mantras) on the limbs and so forth in the subsequent exposition.

The preceding is a specification of the places of birth of the vowels.

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The Seventh Brief Account: A Summary of the Cosmos. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the King of Tantra Śrī Kālacakra that was Extracted from the Śrī Paramādibuddha.

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The Eighth Brief Account: A Summary of the Measurements of the Cosmos

[The ninth topic:] Now, the Bhagavān stated the measurements of the cosmos in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings. The redactor Mañjuśrī redacted this from the Paramādibuddha by means of the tenth and subsequent verses, "From the limit of the wind to the border of Meru...," and so forth. I shall expatiate this. (D 42b)

Śrī Kālacakra I.10

From the limit of the wind to the border of Meru, there are two hundred thousand leagues in the hells and the city of the hooded nagas. Meru's measurement is one hundred thousand (leagues). (Upwards) from the residence of the host of planets, twenty-five thousand (leagues make up) the neck. The face is fifty (thousand leagues). Likewise, the unmoving, fixed place is twenty-five (thousand leagues). Outside of that is the single void, separate from the three existences, without qualities and bereft of properties.//

(U 66) Regarding, "From the limit of the wind to the border of Meru, there are two hundred thousand leagues in

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the hells and the city of the hooded nagas": Here, [various] measurements of the cosmos are taught, and appear, to sentient beings from the point of view of worldly phenomenal (truth), in accordance with the dispositions of sentient beings who have various inclinations. (Bu 452) Ultimately, the cosmos does not have measure and altitude, [because they appear variously] in accordance with the merits and sins of sentient beings.

Here, there is a cavern measuring five cubits in which a passionless [śrāvaka or pratyekabuddha] or a bodhisattva dwells. Due to the might of that one resorting to merit and gnosis, and due to his magical power, a cakravartin together with his troops comes to that cavern and enters it. No one expanded that cavern, and the cakravartin's troops who entered there are not crowded. One should know that, ultimately, the measurements of the cosmos are also like that [their basis is not established, and they are merely the appearance of mind].

Here, with regard to the measurements of the cosmos, because of the statement: "As it is without, so it is in the body,"[1] the measurements of the cosmos are for [the

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[1] yathā bāhye tathā dehe; ji ltar phyi rol de bzhin lus. Cf. Hevajra II.iv.49c (= Niṣpannayogavālī 4.17): yathā bāhyaṃ tathâdhyātmam; ji ltar phyi rol de bzhin nang.

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purified] mandala. The measurements of the body are for the body mandala[2] because of the statement: "The body is called 'the mandala'."[3]

Just as externally the height of Meru is one hundred thousand leagues from the point of view of worldly measurement, just so the height of the body's spine[4] is one cubit. By the cubit measure, the body is four cubits. By the measure of the one hundred thousand leagues of Meru, the cosmos is four hundred thousand leagues. If it were otherwise, 'as it is without, so it is in the body' would not obtain because they would be unequal.

Thus, let the measurements of the cosmos be as they are phenomenally [in harmony with the dispositions of sentient beings]; here, they are not the thesis of the Bhagavān, because he said, "burn and cut..." and so

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[2] [This should be understood as an explanation about the purified (state).]

[3] Guhyasamāja 18.100c. Cf. Hevajra II.iii.27a.

[4] kaṃkālam; rgal tshigs. Precise usage not in Skt. lexicons.

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forth.[5] (Bu 453) Moreover, his [definite] thesis is in the domain of the accumulation of merit and gnosis.

In the domain of the measurement of the cosmos, the thought of the [Buddhist Abhidharma-] Kośa diverges from the opinion of the [heterodox] Vedic system of tenets because (the Vedic system) lies, saying, "The single egg of Brahman has an extension of ten million leagues." [This tantra] establishes the measurement of the cosmos by means of the zodiacal sphere for the calculation of the planets, in order to destroy that measurement of the egg of Brahman, so as to fully mature Sūryaratha and so forth.

Therefore, having seen [the measurement of] of the Buddhist Kośa, do not make this mistake with regard to the measurement here: "Since the Bhagavān said [in the view of the Kośa] that the measurement [of the circumference of a single four continent] cosmos is three million, six hundred thousand leagues, with an additional [ten

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[5] ["It is not" his definite "thesis" because he said in the Ghanavyūha (rgyan stug po bkod pa) to take up (the Dharma) after examining it by "burning, cutting, and so forth," and because he said to rely on the meaning.] I was unable to trace this quotation in the Peking edition of the Ghanavūyha, which seems to contain only part of the sutra. The entire verse mentioned here is cited at Vimalaprabhā V.3.125 (Bu 3.132); likewise at Tattvasaṃgraha 3587. Bu ston's reference to "relying on the meaning" is an allusion to the four "reliances" of meaning, Dharma, gnosis, and definitive meaning; see Mhvy 1545-1549.

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thousand, three hundred and fifty],[6] how can the cosmos [in this tantra] measure four hundred thousand leagues (in diameter) [and one million, two hundred thousand in circumference]? Isn't the Bhagavān a liar here?" Some will think [that he is a liar], (but) pandits should not accept that statement; [he did not state the measurement as a result of having measured it, but] due to the dispositions of sentient beings.

Furthermore, it is said:

Sentient beings having various inclinations know various systems of tenets. They are mounted on various paths; they are arrogant in the egotism of their knowledge.//(1)

(D 43a) As long as their own or others' systems of tenets are not demonstrated to them through logical reasoning, these arrogant ones do not come under the control of even the Omniscient One.//(2)

(Bu 454) An untruth that benefits sentient beings is a cause for the accumulation of merit. A truth that harms others gives one avīci hell and so forth.//(3)

Miserly hungry ghosts see a homely dwelling as a mountain. Sinners see a home in the aspect of a needle-point mountain.//(4)

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[6] Cf. Abhidharmakośa 3.47-48a.

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Siddhas who have obtained the siddhi of the underworld see the solid earth as completely full of holes; they go to the city of the nymphs.//(5)[7]

Therefore, the measurement of the cosmos the Tathāgata stated appears by the power of the propensities of sentient beings' own minds. But the Tathāgata did not in the least look at the cosmos [as different from mind] with attachment, and then [measure and] describe a real measurement by means of the nature of object and subject.

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[7] [(Annotations:) (1) The "systems of tenets" are those of the non-Buddhists and Buddhists. The "various paths" are those of the greater and lesser vehicles, and so forth. The "knowledge" is of the scientific subjects. (2) "As long as they are not shown logical reasoning" that accords with their own intellects in order to cause them to enter "their own or others' systems of tenets, these arrogant ones are not controlled," i.e., cannot be converted, "by even the Omniscient One" if he does not accord with their ideas. (3) Even though it does not correspond to fact, "An untruth that benefits sentient beings is a cause for the accumulation of merit." Even though it corresponds to fact, "A truth that harms sentient beings gives one avīci hell and so forth." Thus, there is no fault in speaking enigmatically (ldem por dgongs te gsungs pa) in order to benefit others. (4) Since sentient beings have different karmas, a definitive measurement of the cosmos is not established - it has different ways of appearing according to karma. Like this: "The miserly," i.e., stingy, "hungry ghosts see a homely dwelling as a mountain" devoid of food, drink, and pleasures. "Sinners" who kill and so forth "see a home in the aspect of a needle-point" or sword, etc., "mountain," and see it harming themselves. (5) "Siddhas," i.e., yogis, "who have obtained the siddhi of" coursing in "the underworld...see the solid," hard "earth as completely full of holes," i.e., as an open expanse.] Note: mKhas grub (TC 910) identifies the preceding quotation as being from the Basic Tantra.

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Thus, fully knowing all [the dispositions of sentient beings in their actual condition], the Bhagavān stated the measurement of the cosmos and the measurement of the body [for purification], in order to fully mature the sages.

(U 67) Here, regarding, 'From the end of wind to the border of Meru...': Under the mandalas of earth, water, and fire, the wind mandala rests on the space element. From that end of the wind up to Meru are the seven hells, and the eighth (level) is the city of the hooded nagas. (Bu 455) There are two hundred thousand leagues (of height) in the hells and the city of the hooded nagas.

Here, the wind mandala is fifty thousand (leagues high). There are two hells in it, Great Severe Wind and Great Darkness; from bottom to top they are each apportioned twenty-five thousand leagues. The horizontal measurement [of these hells] is the (horizontal) measurement of the earth disc.

Likewise, there are two hells in the fire disc: one Fire Hell, and above it, the Hell of Intense Smoke.

Likewise, there are two hells in the water disc: the Muddy Water (Hell) that is mud and water mixed, and the Sandy Water (Hell) that is sand and water mixed; they are extremely cold.

In the earth disc is the Gravel Water Hell, twenty-five thousand leagues (high). Above that is the city of

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the hooded nagas, twenty-five thousand leagues from bottom to top. The measure of that is twofold as well: half is the abode of the demons, and half is the abode of the naga world.[8]

'Meru's measurement is one hundred thousand [leagues].' From the earth mandala, the measurement of Meru from bottom to top is one hundred thousand leagues- in the body there is one cubit from the waist through to the bottom of the throat. Right there [downward from the peak of Meru] revolves the host of planets.

[Upwards] from [the upper limit of] the residence of the host of planets [i.e., the peak of Meru], (D 43b) twenty-five thousand (leagues make up) the neck of Meru- in the body it is six fingerbreadths. Then, there are fifty [thousand leagues] in the face - Meru's face. In the body there are twelve fingerbreadths from the neck through to the limit of the forehead. (Bu 456)

From that the unmoving, fixed place - the uṣṇīṣa - is twenty-five thousand (leagues high). From the [limit of

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[8] The foregoing layout of the underworld is completely different from that given at Abhidharmakośa 3.58-59; cf. Kirfel (1920:198-206). However, David Reigle has drawn my attention to the fact that it is almost identical to the Jaina exposition given in Tattvārthādhigamasūtra 3.1. There can be no doubt that the Kālacakra underworld is borrowed and adapted from Jaina sources: see Kirfel (1920:315-328); Jaini (1979:128-129). The underworld is described again below in Śrī Kālacakra I.15cd and the Vimalaprabhā's comment thereon.

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the] forehead through to the place of the top-knot measures six fingerbreadths in the body.

Regarding, 'Outside of that is the single void, separate from the three existences, without qualities and bereft of properties': "That" means outside of the lower wind mandala and the upper uṣṇīṣa. The single void is the single void that is the nature of the individual particles; it consists of five elements. It is not space; one should understand it by the single void because it pervades everything.[9]

Thus, the measure of the cosmos is four hundred (leagues in height); in the body it is four cubits. Also, a cubit consists of twenty-four fingerbreadths.

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[9] mKhas grub (TC 815-816) gives an elaborate explanation of this paragraph that radically conflicts with the way I have translated it. In brief, mKhas grub insists that śūnyam ekam, which Puṇḍarīka glosses as ekaśūnyam, is the fifth element, space. He asserts that it is a mistake to take dhātupañcakam (khams lnga pa can) as meaning "possessing five elements," but gives no reason. To follow his reading would require a gloss several times as long as the text, and would invert the literal meaning of the Sanskrit in the process.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.11

From the limit of the wind to the border of the wind (is four hundred thousand leagues). One the firm surface of the earth are continents, mountains, and oceans. Half of four is two hundred thousand. The fire and wind discs (extend) two hundred thousand leagues. In the middle is Meru at the top of which the wheel of houses, together with the stars, revolves day and night. There are two hundred thousand (leagues) in each of the six parts. The entire three existences is born from the junction of time.//

Now here are stated the breadth measurements. 'From the limit of the wind to the border of the wind' is four hundred thousand (leagues): from the wind to the limit of the wind (means) from the east through to the western limit of the wind disc, and likewise from the south through to the northern limit.

Regarding, "On the firm surface of the earth are continents, mountains, and oceans": Then, within the wind mandala the fire mandala has the shape of a disc. Likewise, the water disc is in the middle of the fire disc, and the earth disc is in the middle of the water disc.

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That is the firm surface of the earth. On it are the six continents, six mountains, and six oceans.[10] There are seven oceans including the seventh - the water disc. There are seven continents including the seventh- Jambūdvīpa. There are seven mountains including the vajra mountain (vajraparvata; rdo rje'i ri). The vajra mountain is the mare's mouth fire (vāḍavāgni; rta gdong gi me). It is situated at the limit of, and horizontally underneath, the salt ocean - the water disc.[11]

The salt ocean is situated in all directions at the limit of, and below, the earth - Great Jambūdvīpa. (U 68; D 44a; Bu 457) From one end of the salt ocean to the other end of the salt ocean is one half of four hundred thousand (leagues). "Half of four is two hundred thousand": To the left and right from the middle of Meru to the end of the salt ocean disc is two hundred thousand (leagues) - to the left one hundred thousand and to the right one hundred thousand. Likewise to the east and west, northwest and southeast, and southwest and northeast.

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[10] [The sequence as taught below is from Meru through the continents, oceans, and mountains.]

[11] For the mythology of the mare's mouth fire see O'Flaherty (1971). In astronomy and geography the mare's mouth (vaḍavāmukha) is the South Pole (Pingree 1981:12).

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Regarding, "the fire and wind discs (extend) two hundred thousand leagues": The fire and wind discs (extend) two hundred thousand (leagues) to the left and right from that salt water disc. To the left one hundred thousand and to the right one hundred thousand, and likewise in all directions.

Regarding, "In the middle is Meru at the top of which the wheel of houses, together with the stars, revolves day and night": In the middle is Meru. If you wonder what that is, it is that at the top of which the twelve-spoked wheel of houses, together with the stars, revolves day and night. 'Together with the stars' means together with limitless clusters of stars. Should you ask: "Here, what is the reason for this word (Meru)? Is there also some other Meru due to which this needs to be stated?" - I will explain. Here, Mandara is also called Meru. Thus, this word is suitable in order to differentiate (this Meru and) Mandara.[12]

Regarding, "There are two hundred thousand (leagues) in each of the six parts": Here, according to the stated

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[12] Meru is called "Mandara" in the early Jaina cosmological texts (Kirfel 1920:129). It is also the name of various mountains in brahmanical cosmology (Kirfel 1920: index, s.v.) In the Mahābhārata Mandara is the mountain the gods and demons used as a churning-stick when they churned the ocean to recover the ambrosia and so forth lost during the great flood (MW 788).

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sequence, there are two hundred thousand (leagues) in each of the six portions - below, above, east, west, south, and north, from the middle of the earth disc.

The entire three existences are the existences of heaven, the mortals, and the underworld. Regarding, 'The entire three existences is born from the junction of time': (The three existences) are born due to the power of the time of evolution, i.e., origination,[13] from the conjunction of the holding, churning, and shaping winds (Bu 458) so that sentient beings may experience the results of their virtuous and nonvirtuous karma.

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[13] samvarta (chags pa) is used idiosyncratically here. Cf. Newman (1988).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.12

Also, throughout the cosmos the circumference is three times the measurement of the diameter. The circumference of the earth is three hundred thousand (leagues); (the circumferences) of water, fire, and wind are, in sequence, six, nine, and sun (12) (hundred thousand leagues). O lord of men, one hundred thousand leagues outside, in the abode of the three existences, is one true cubit according to one's own measurement in the body, in the abode on the surface of the earth.//

Now here are stated the measurements of the circumferences. Regarding, "Also, throughout the cosmos the circumference is three times the measurement of the diameter": Here, everywhere in the cosmos the measurement of the circumference is three times the measure of the diameter.[14] (D 44b) (This is the circumference) of everything from Meru and so forth - the continents, mountains, and oceans - through the wind disc.

Regarding, "The circumference of the earth is three hundred thousand (leagues)": The measurement of the diameter of the earth, i.e., of the earth disc, is one

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[14] This value for pi is also used at Abhidharmakośa 3.48a.

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hundred thousand (leagues); the measurement of its circumference is three hundred thousand.

Likewise, regarding, "of water, fire, and wind...": The measurements of the diameters of the water, fire, and wind discs, from one end of their particular discs through to the other end of their particular discs, are two hundred thousand, three hundred thousand, and four hundred thousand (leagues). The measurements of their circumferences are, "in sequence, six, nine, and sun (12) (hundred thousand leagues)." One should know that, according to the sequence, (the circumference) of the water disc is six hundred thousand (leagues), (the circumference) of the fire disc is nine hundred thousand (leagues), and (the circumference) of the wind disc is sun, i.e., twelve, hundred thousand (leagues).[15]

Regarding, "O lord of men, one hundred thousand leagues outside, in the abode of the three existences, is one true cubit according to one's own measurement in the body, in the abode on the surface of the earth": As previously stated, that which is one hundred thousand leagues outside in the cosmos is the measurement of one

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15 "Sun" (arka; nyi ma) is a symbol for twelve because there are twelve suns - one for each sign of the zodiac. For the use of these number symbols, see the note to the Vimalaprabhā I.9.27a.

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cubit in one's own body, in accordance with one's own cubit.

Śrī Kālacakra I.13

Eight subtle (particles) make up this single particle. [Eight] particles make up the tip of a fine hair. These make up a mustard seed, a louse, and a barleycorn. Snake (8) barleycorns make up a fingerbreadth. A pair of sun (12) fingerbreadths make up a cubit. Four cubits make up a bow. Here, two thousand bows make up an earshot. Four earshots make up the league that is the measurement in heaven, on earth, and in the sky.//

Now is stated (the measurement of) the league by means of (the measurements) of the particle and so forth, by "subtle" and so forth. (U 69; Bu 459) Regarding, "Eight subtle (particles) make up this single particle": Here eight subtle particles placed in a line make up a single particle, i.e., the measurement of a particle. Eight of these particles make up the tip of a human hair. Eight of these hair tips placed in a line make up the measurement of a mustard seed. (Eight of) those make up the measurement of a louse. (Eight) of these make up the measurement of a barleycorn.

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'Snake (8) barleycorns,' i.e., eight of them, make up a fingerbreadth.

Regarding, "A pair of sun (12) fingerbreadths": 'Sun' (means) twelve and 'a pair' (means) twofold, (a pair of sun means) twenty-four. Twenty-four fingerbreadths placed in a line make up the measurement of a cubit. Four of those make up a bow.

Here, two thousand bows make up an earshot. Four of those make up a league. That league is the measurement of the gods in heaven; it is the measurement of humans on earth; it is the measurement for the revolutions of the sun, moon, and so forth, in the sky.[16]

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[16] The Kālacakra system of measurement differs significantly from that given at Abhidharmakośa 3.85d-88a. In particular, the Kośa has 500 bows compose an earshot, and 8 earshots compose a league. If we assume 1 Kālacakra bow = 1 Kośa bow, then 1 Kālacakra league = 2 Kośa leagues. If we take a cubit as being 18 inches, then the Kośa league is about 4.5 miles, the Kālacakra league about 9. For other Buddhist systems of linear measurement see Kirfel (1920:335-336).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.14

At first is the Eon of Saudharma, a pair paired with a pair. Also, there are the Brahma, the Lokottara, the Śrī Eon, and the Śveta Eon. From the abode of the Suvasitas are the eleven desire existences. The formless (gods) are the four A and so forth, the ones devoid of coitus (2) HA. I and so forth are the sixteen form (gods). Also, HA and so forth ending with LA are clearly the tenfold desire (existences); the consonants are the single KAḤ-SAḤ.//

(D 45a) [The tenth topic:] Now are stated the thirty-one existences, the formless existences and so forth.

Regarding, "At first is the Eon of Saudharma": 'At first' means 'at the beginning.' The word 'Saudharma' indicates 'the formless existences.' "Eon" refers to the abode where the gods having a lifespan of an eon live. That abode is "the Eon of Saudharma" - the land of heaven.[17]

Regarding, "a pair paired with a pair": A pair is two, and those two paired are four. A pair paired with a

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[17] The terms saudharma, brahma, brahmalokottara, śrī, śveta, and kalpa ("Eon") as names for the formless existences are borrowed from Jaina cosmology; see Kirfel (1920:291-315); Jaini (1979:129-130). The usual Buddhist nomenclature is used below in the comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.15a.

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pair signifies "the fourfold abode of the formless existence." (Bu 460) "A lifespan of one great eon, of two, three, and four eons" is the intention (abhiprāya; dgongs pa).[18]

Below Meru's uṣṇīṣa is the abode of the hair for those who meditate on the fourfold total void. Likewise, the Brahma Eon pair paired with a pair is the abode of the forehead for those who meditate on the fourfold total wind. Likewise, the Brahmalokottara pair paired with a pair is the abode of the nose for those who meditate on the fourfold total fire. Likewise, the Śrī Eon pair paired with a pair is (the abode) below the nose ending at the chin for those who meditate on the fourfold total fire. Likewise, the Śveta Eon pair paired with a pair is the abode of the throat for those who meditate on the fourfold total earth. Thus, the sixteen form (gods) have sixteen eons - they have lifespans commencing from sixteen [middling] eons through [fifteen and so forth] to a single eon.

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[18] [Since below (the gods of the formless existences) are said to endure for one hundred years calculated according to their own respirations, they have that measure (of lifespan). Although here (they are said to have lifespans) that measure more than that, this is from consideration (dgongs pa) of the different ways (the world) appears in accordance with the merits and sins of sentient beings; (the explanation) below is for the sake of joining the Outer, Inner, and Other.]

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Then, commencing from the bottom of the throat through to the end of the bottom of the wind disc are the eleven desire existences. The statement, "from the abode of the Suvasitas are the eleven desire (existences)" means "the desire (existence) is divided into eleven divisions."

Regarding [their seeds], "The formless (gods) are the four A and so forth, the ones devoid of coitus (2) HA": Here, the seed syllables of the formless (gods) and so forth are the four vowels, the letter A and so forth [that are taught below]. [Since (HA) is the seed of the Paranirmitavaśavartin and (HA that of) the Nirmāṇaratī, here] these are also separate from the two letters HA. This statement [is expressed in order to make one] free of the uncertainty that there are six voids [i.e., that there (might be) six abodes of the formless (gods).]

Regarding, "I and so forth are the sixteen form (gods)": Here, the sixteen vowels that begin with the letter I are called "I and so forth." (Bu 461) The sixteen, I and so forth, are the form (gods).

Regarding, "Also, HA and so forth ending with LA are clearly the tenfold desire (existence)": The modifications of the ten vowels that begin with the letter HA and end with the letter HA (D 45b) are 'HA and so forth ending with LA' - they are the tenfold desire (existence).

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'Clearly' (means) they exist as they are stated in the text.

(U70) Regarding, "the consonants are the single KAḤ-SAḤ":[19] All the consonants, the letter KA and so forth, are summarized by means of pratyāhāra - they become a single letter KAḤ-SAḤ. This means, "The conjunct KAḤ-SAḤ is the letter KṢA." Also, it is the eleventh desire existence.

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[19] Note: MS D, Bu, and TC (828/5) consistently read SAḤ; MS B consistently reads ṢAḤ.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.15

The thirty-one existences are here the three existences. Due to the division of the realms there are three realms. Also, this entire three existences is the three vajras due to the divisions of A and so forth and KA and so forth. After Jewel Blaze, the Gravel Water is called a hell. Sandy Water is second, (then) Muddy Water, Intense Smoke, Fire, and Darkness. And Wailing is the seventh.//

Regarding, "The thirty-one existences are here the three existences": These thirty-one existences, the letter A and so forth, are the three existences - the desire existence, the form existence, and the formless existence.

Here, "thc thirty-one existences" are the formless (existences) and so forth.[20] The four formless (existences) are: (4) those who approach the sphere of neither perception nor nonperception [- they have turned away from the perceptions of both existence and nonexistence and have become very subtle. Thus, (they are

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[20] The existences are listed below starting with the highest and proceeding to the lowest, thus the inverted numbering. The arrangement and names of the formless and form god realms are identical to those of the Abhidharmakośa except that the Kālacakra system omits the sixth god realm of the fourth form dhyāna, the Sudṛśa. Cf. Abhidharmakośa 3.1b-2; Kirfel (1920:190-198); Kloetzli (1983:33).

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called) "those who approach the sphere," i.e., the place of birth, "of neither perception nor" total "nonperception."];

(3) those who approach the sphere of nothing at all [- at the time of applying themselves to absorbtion, they meditate, "there is 'no' object 'at all' having form or without form."];

(2) those who approach the sphere of limitless consciousness [- at the time of meditating absorption, they turn away from the perception of space, and they "approach the sphere" of meditating the thought, "consciousness is limitless."];

(1) those who approach the sphere of limitless space [- at the time of meditating absorbtion, they turn away from the perception of form. Since they aspire to the thought "space is limitless," (they are called) "those who approach the sphere of limitless space."].

The sixteen form (existences), Akaniṣṭha and so forth, are: (16) Akaniṣṭha [- since it reaches the limit of the aggregations of particles, or because there is no other form abode above it, (it is called) "Not Lower"]; (Bu 462)

[15] Sudarśana [- they see the very pure and good by meditating on the concentration of increase; thus (they are called) "Good-Seeing"];

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[14] Atapa [- (they are called) "Unafflicted" because due to their virtuous thoughts they are not eclipsed by the (gods) of the lower levels; because, even though they do not obtain the higher (existences), they are not sad; and because their bodies, speech, and minds are not afflicted by food];

[13] Avṛha [- (they are called) "Not Big" because they are the smallest of the smallest of the five gods of the Śuddhāvāsika class, or because they do not make great effort towards realization of the phenomena of the formless (existences)];

[12] Bṛhatphala [- (they are called) "Great Result" because the maturation of the result of their merits is more extensive and peaceful than that of all the ordinary beings that are in other places];

[11] Puṇyaprasava [- (they are called) "Begetting Merit" because they exert themselves again and again towards virtue, and because they are born from unwavering merit];

[10] Anabhraka [- (they are called) "Cloudless" because they are born together with their palaces, without separate winged (? 'dab chags pa) abodes that are like cloud masses, and because they do not have the clouds of the calamities of exhalation and inhalation, and so forth, of death];

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[9] Śubhakṛtsna [- (they are called) "Vast Virtues" because the other, lower (gods) do not have virtues that exceed those of these gods, and because they are big];

[8] Apramāṇaśubha [- (they are called) "Measureless Virtues" because the lower gods are unable to grasp the extent of the bliss of those born in this abode of the gods];

[7] Parīttaśubha [- (they are called) "Limited Virtue" because the mental bliss of the third concentration is virtue, and these (gods) have less (of it) than the higher two];

[6] Ābhāsvara [- (they are called) "Shining" because the light of that abode of the gods shines throughout the entire abode];

[5] Apramāṇābha [- (they are called) "Measureless Light" because (the gods) of the lower god abodes are unable to grasp the measure of the light of these gods];

[4] Parīttābha [- (they are called) "Limited Light" because the light of these gods is less than that of the higher two];

[3] Mahābrahmāṇa [- the master of the Brahmā world (is called) "Great Brahmā" because his lifespan and countenance excel that of the other lower (gods)];

[2] Brahmapurohita [- (they are called) "The High Priest

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of Brahmā" because they sit before Great Brahmā and chant and speak];

[1] Brahmakāyika [- (they are called) "The Party of Brahma" because they are the entourage of Brahmā that has gone to the level of the first concentration]" - these are the sixteen (classes of) form (gods).

The eleven desire (existences), Paranirmitavasavartin, and so forth: Here are the six (classes of) gods that engage in desire:

"(6) Paranirmitavaśavartin [- (they are called) "Controlling Others' Emanations" because their enjoyment of desire consists in controlling others' emanations];

(5) Nirmāṇarati [- (they are called) "Delighting in Emanations" because they emanate whatever objects of desire please them, and then joyously enjoy them];

(4) Tuṣita [- (they are called) "Satisfied" because their delight in the Dharma is exceedingly great];

(3) Yāma [- (they are called) "Free from Fighting" because they are free from fights with the demons];

(2) Trāyastriṃśa [- (they are called) "The Thirty-three" because each has three chiefs of the gods, or each has three god abodes (?)];

(1) Cāturmahārājakāyika [- (these are) the four (guardians of the directions), Vaiśravaṇa and so forth, together with their entourages]." (Bu 463) (The six

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classes of desire gods) possess lifespans of six, five, four, three, two, and one eon, i.e., least eons.

"Here the demons are included among these (gods).[21] (The preceding existences together with) humans, animals, hungry ghosts, and hell beings" are the five desire existences.[22] Such are the thirty-one existences.

(D 46a) The term mantras - the vowels that are the letter A and so forth - for these formless (existences) and so forth are in series according to the stated sequence. Like this: "A, Ā, AṂ, AḤ" (are the mantras of) the formless (existences of those who meditate on) total space. "I, Ī, E, AI" - total wind. Ṛ, Ṝ, AR, ĀR" - total fire. "U, Ū, O, AU" - total water. "Ḷ, Ḹ, AL, ĀL"- total earth. The sixteen form (existences), Akaniṣṭha and so forth, come about due to the power of ethics, and due to the power of the samadhis of total wind and so forth.

"HA, HĀ, YA, YĀ, RA, RĀ" are the six (classes of gods) that engage in desire; they come about due to the power of charity, and due to the power of mantra repetition.

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21 [The Smṛtyupasthānasūtra says that the demons are include among the animals. However, "here" in this tantra "the demons are included among these" gods within the five types of destinies.]

22 [(They are called) "hell beings" because they have nothing that gives pleasure, and because they only suffer.]

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"VA, VĀ" are the demons and humans. Demons come about due to the power of charity, and humans due to the power of virtuous and nonvirtuous karma.

"LA, LĀ" are the animals and hungry ghosts. Animals come about due to lesser sins, and hungry ghosts due to middling sins.[23]

The letter KṢA indicates the hell beings. They come about due to the greatest sins.

In the first naga world the lifespan is a least eon due to merit. In the first hell the lifespan is a least eon due to sin. (Bu 464) In the second and third hells the lifespan is a medium eon. In the fourth and fifth hells the lifespan is a superior eon. In the sixth and seventh hells the lifespan is a great eon. In the eighth the lifespan (lasts until) the contraction of the cosmos.

Such is the meaning of, "The thirty-one existences make up the three existences." Due to the division of the realms, there are three realms.[24] These [thirty-one existences, three realms, and three existences] are the

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[23] [Sutra says that hungry ghosts come about due to lesser sins and animals due to middling. This is stated from the point of view of the relative difficulty and ease with which they may achieve liberation. (The arrangement) here is in accordance with the magnitude of their sufferings.]

[24] On the three realms (desire, form, and formless) see Kirfel (1920:207); Kloetzli (1983:29, 33-39).

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three vajras of Body, Speech, and Mind. The entire three existences are heaven, the mortal realm, and the underworld. They should be known by means of the divisions A and so forth, and KA and so forth.[25]

(U 71) Regarding the measurement of a least eon: (Dig) a pit one league in length and breadth, and completely fill it with fine hair-tips. Take out a single hair-tip each hundred years. The time it takes to empty it is a single solar day of a least eon. The measure of thirty such solar days makes up a month. Twelve months make up a year. A hundred years is called "an eon." Likewise, the medium eon is a multiple of that (least eon). A superior eon is a multiple of the medium eon.[26]

Thus, sentient beings suffer the sufferings of the hells and so forth for many eons due to the force of their

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[25] [These also "should be known" to be the three vajras, and method and wisdom - the five syllable (great void) and the six syllable (drop void) - "by means of the division" of the letters "A and so forth and KA and so forth."]

[26] [Some explain that "a medium eon" is one hundred years calculated with the measure of a least eon used as a single solar day. However, the notes in Vibhūticandra's Indian manuscript explain it as one hundred years (i.e., one least eon) multiplied by one hundred (thus, one hundred least eons).] Note: an interpolation in MS D here reads: adhakalpaśataguṇanam; i.e., "a least eon times one hundred," agreeing with Vibhūticandra's explanation. mKhas grub offers yet a third view (TC 831), which he accepts.

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sins. The gods enjoy the pleasures of heaven and so forth for many eons due to the force of their merits.

Now are stated the terms for the existences of the nagas and so forth; there is no dispute about these names.[27] Regarding, "After Jewel Blaze, Gravel Water is called a hell": (Bu 465) Here, the dwelling-place that blazes with jewels is the dwelling-place (called) Jewel Blaze. (D 46b) Measuring twenty-five thousand leagues below that world of the nagas and demons, after Jewel Blaze, Gravel Water is called a hell. ('Called') means "described." The (hell) named Sandy Water is second; Muddy Water is third - these are the two cold hells. Then, Intense Smoke is the fourth, and Fire is the fifth- these are the two hot hells. Then, below, Darkness is the sixth; Wailing Great Darkness is the seventh - these are the two hells of severe wind. The word 'and' indicates the inclusion of the Vajra Flame (hell). The eighth (hell), the portion of the vajra needle-point earth, is always blazing.[28] The eight great hells are in the underworld.[29]

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[27] Note: MS D interpolates tīrthikādibhiḥ here; i.e., "The heterodox and so forth do not dispute these names."

[28] [The eighth (hell) is situated at the (lower) limit of the seventh hell, but it is not another, different place like the sixth and seventh (hells).]

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Śrī Kālacakra I.16

Salt, liquor, water, milk, curd, ghee, and molasses are the seven oceans. The mountains are Nīlābha, Mandara mountain, Niṣaṭa, Maṇikara, Droṇa, Sīta mountain, and Vajra. The continents Candra, Sitābha, Varaparamakuśa, Kinnara, Krauñca, and Raudra are the lands of enjoyment. Mankind lives on the seventh - Jambū - the land of karma.//

Regarding, "Salt, liquor, water, milk, curd, ghee, and molasses are the seven oceans": The salt (ocean) is outside of the earth disc. The (oceans of) liquor and so forth are upon the earth. The seven mountains are Nīlābha, Mandara mountain, Niṣaṭa, Maṇikara, Droṇa, Śīta[30]

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[29] See the Vimalaprabhā's comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.10a and the notes thereon.

[30] MSS B & D: śītādri. Banerjee has the palatal sibilant in his edition of the Śrī Kālacakra also (no variants given). However, the MSS used in Vira and Chandra's editio princeps and our MS D all agree that the dental sibilant is the form used in the text of the tantra. Banerjee has also "corrected" the form sambhala to śambhala in Śrī Kālacakra I.26a, 150c, 156a, etc. Again he has given no variant readings, and again the MSS used in the editio princeps and all the MSS I have examined agree that the dental sibilant is the original reading. This may seem a small matter, but given the Vimalaprabhā's clear statement about the confusion of sibilants in the text of the Śrī Kālacakra, it is a very

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mountain, and Vajra.[31] The Vajra (mountain) is outside the salt ocean. The individual mountain ranges of Himavat and so forth are outside the individual oceans of liquor and so forth, as though they were bound with lines of water.

The continents Candra, Śītābha, Varaparamakuśa [i.e., the virtuous, or pure], Kinnara, Krauñca, and Raudra are lands of enjoyment. Mankind lives on the seventh - Jambū - the land of karma.

The seventh, Great Jambūdvīpa, has the shape of a ring. It is one hundred thousand leagues in breadth, and three hundred thousand in circumference. (Bu 466) This place where mankind resides should be known as the land of karma. The (other) six should be known as lands of enjoyment.[32] Jambūdvīpa is on the shore of the salt

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untrustworthy "critical edition" that tacitly alters such things against the testimony of the MSS.

[31] ["Mandara" means *Mandākinī (dal 'bab pa; i.e., the Ganga), or *Mandadhāra (dal 'dzin). "Niṣaṭa" means 'without six' (drug bral) or *Niṣadha (? rtsub ldan). "Droṇa" is also applied to a large bre bo (measure) (bre bo che); i.e., a measure or weight.] Note: Bu consistently spells "Mandara" as mandha ra; MSS and TC 833: mandara. Banerjee adopts the form niṣaṭṭa in Śrī Kālacakra (S) I.16b; I adopt niṣaṭa following Śrī Kālacakra (S1) MS Ke, Śrī Kālacakra (T), MSS, and Bu.

[32] For an explanation of karmabhūmi and bhogabhūmi see Kirfel (1920:58, 112).

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ocean; the remainder are on the shores of the (oceans of) liquor and so forth.[33]

Śrī Kālacakra I.17

In the east wind is a half-circle, O lord of men. In the south fire is a triangle. In the north water is a full moon, and in the west the supreme golden earth is ocean (4) cornered. Sumeru has the shape of void - made of the best thunderbolt, it is in the middle of the mandalas. The thousands of leagues of the earth surfaces are mountains (7), nagas (8), planets (9), and directions (10).//

(U 72; D 47a) Now are stated the four continents on Great Jambūdvīpa. Regarding, "In the east wind is a half-circle": Due to the nature of the wind mandala in the east, it is a half-circle; i.e., it has the shape of a half-moon.[34] In the south, due to the nature of the fire

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[33] The names and arrangement of the oceans, mountains, and continents on the earth surface differ greatly from the presentation in Abhidharmakośa 3.48b-52; cf. also Kirfel (1920:185-189). Although they do not precisely correspond to any particular scheme, they are borrowed from brahmanical (Puranic) cosmography; cf. Kirfel (1920:57, 59-60, 112-127).

[34] In Śrī Kālacakra I.17a, Śrī Kālacakra (S), and Śrī Kalacakra (S1) (no variants) both read: vāyūrdhvavṛttam; Shong and Bu: rlung ni shin tu zlum po. Sri Kalacakra (ST) and our MSS B & D: vāyvardhavṛttam. Bu

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mandala, it is a triangle. In the north, due to the nature of the water mandala, it is circular.[35] In the west, due to the nature of the earth mandala, it is square; i.e., "has ocean (4) corners."[36]

In the middle is Meru; due to the nature of the void mandala, it has the shape of a bindu. Regarding, "made of the best thunderbolt, it is in the middle of the

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ston attaches the following annotation: [Guru Vibhūticandra's personal Indian manuscript has this: 'Regarding, "In the east wind is a half-circle" (rlung ni zlum po phyed pa): Due to the nature of the wind mandala in the east, it is a half-circle; i.e., it has the shape of a half-moon.'] I follow Bu ston's report of Vibhūticandra's text here. It more or less agrees with the consensus of the Vimalaprabhā MSS, which vary considerably. mKhas grub (TC 834) says that one must follow the reading of Vibhūticandra's MS: otherwise one will contradict the statement later on in the comment on this verse that says "east is a half-circle" with reference to wind, and one will also contradict the repeated statements in the subsequent chapters of the Vimalaprabhā that wind is a half-moon shape and water a circle.

35 ["the shape of the full moon" appears (in Vibhūticandra's MS) (zla ba nya ba'i rnam pa zhes 'byung).] Again there is confusion in the texts. I follow MS B (supported by Bu ston's citation of Vibhuticandra's MS) which reads simply "it is circular" (varttulam). MSS N & D: vṛttaṃ ardhacandrākāraṃ (however, an emendation indicates the elision of ardhacandrākāraṃ in N). I am mystified by the Tibetan translation of Śrī Kālacakra I.17b pūrṇenduṃ (all MSS!) by phyed kyi zla ba (alternative: zla ba phyed pa). Banerjee's hypothesis (Über 45) of a mere transposition in the translation is untenable.

36 In Abhidharmakośa 3.55 the western continent, Godānīya, is circular, and the northern continent, Kuru, is square.

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mandalas": Meru is in the middle of the mandalas of the east, south, north, and west.[37] [Also, the four continents together with Meru are made of the five elements, the five families, the five great voids, and the five gnoses.]

Regarding, "The thousands of leagues of the earth-surfaces are mountains (7), nagas (8), planets (9), and directions (10)": the league measurements of the earth-surfaces of these four mandalas are, according to sequence, "mountains," i.e., seven thousand; "nagas," i.e., eight thousand; "planets," i.e., nine thousand; "directions," i.e., ten thousand. Such are the league measurements of the four continents, in the proper order.

Here, since the east is a half-circle,[38] and the west a square, due to the nature of one's own body the front and back have the nature of wind and earth. The left and right in the body have the nature of water and fire [-wisdom and method]. Thus, the shapes of the four mandalas characterize the four continents.[39]

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[37] Thus Bu (and the order in Śrī Kālacakra I.17ab); this also follows the order given below in the comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.20c. MS B: east, west, south, north; N: east, south, north (sic); D: east, south, west, north.

[38] Thus MS B & Bu; MSS N & D: pūrvavṛttaṃ.

[39] The sizes, colors, and positions of the four main continents in the Kālacakra system differ considerably from the layout given in Abhidharmakośa 3.53b-55:

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Śrī Kālacakra I.18

The upper width of Meru, (and the width of Meru) on the abode of the surface of the earth, are (respectively) fifty thousand leagues and sixteen thousand leagues. One (thousand leagues) is the true (breadth) of the horizon range on the surface of the supreme earth. The five horns are above, (and they penetrate) into the abode of the surface of the earth. The horizon range is in all directions. Outside of that are continents, mountains, and oceans; in all directions are fire and wind.//

Now are stated the width measurements of Meru and so forth. (Bu 467) The upper width of Meru is fifty thousand (leagues) from the eastern quarter to the west, from the north to the south. The width (of Meru) on the abode of the earth is sixteen thousand (leagues). One thousand (leagues) is the true breadth [of Meru's outer]

	Abhidharmakośa	Kālacakra
East:	Silver Half-moon	Blue-black Circle
South:	Lapis Triangle	Red Triangle
North:	Gold Square	Silver Half-moon
West:	Ruby Circle	Gold Square

(Note: The colors in the Abhidharmakośa system refer to the respective faces of Meru rather than to the continents themselves; cf. Abhidharmakośa 3.50a.)

The arrangement in the Kālacakra is an adaptation of the Abhidharmakośa system designed to correlate the colors, shapes, and positions of the continents to those of the elemental discs in Kālacakra mandala.

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horizon range. There are five horns above, and they penetrate into the abode of the surface of the earth. Also, the horizon range is in all directions [outside of Meru].

Regarding, "Outside of that are continents, mountains...": Outside of this horizon range [that is outside of Meru], in the cavity within the four horns, are the six continents, six oceans, and six mountains. Among these [six mountains the sixth -] Himādri has equal horns [i.e., touches (the last horn)].

The seventh is Jambūdvīpa. Outside of it is the salt ocean's disc, and all around are the fire disc and the wind disc.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.19

Also, all six oceans are each a thousand (leagues) less moon (1) moon (1) one. The continents and supreme mountain ranges are such a thousand. Twenty-five thousand (leagues) is the expanse of Jambūdvīpa. The measurement of the salt ocean is half of one hundred thousand. Just so are the measurements of fire and wind that are the ends of the bearer of the three existences.//

'Also, all six oceans are each a thousand (leagues) less moon (1) moon (1) one' means: "Each ocean of the six oceans is a thousand [leagues] less one hundred and eleven." [It appears to result in eight hundred and eighty-nine.] The same is true for the six continents, as well as the six supreme mountain ranges - these eighteen continents, mountains, and oceans have the same measurement. The precise (amount) of that (measurement) becomes apparent by dividing sixteen thousand into eighteen parts. (U 73) [Eight hundred and eighty-eight leagues, three earshots, one thousand, one hundred and eleven bow-fathoms, ten fingerbreadths, and less than one-fourth of six barleycorns. (In decimals, 888.8$\overline{8}$.)] "Less moon (1) moon (1) one" is a brief statement of the rough calculation.

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Here, there are eight thousand leagues in all directions from the place of Brahmā in the middle of the lower portion of Meru; and one for the horizon range. [This is not explained as being outside of the void inside Meru, because it is stated to be outside from the sixteen thousand league base of Meru. (I.e., the eight thousand leagues in the previous sentence refers to the radius of the base of Meru.)] (Bu 468) The six continents and so forth are located throughout (the expanse) sixteen thousand leagues outside of the nine thousand leagues (just mentioned). Therefore, the measurement becomes apparent by dividing sixteen thousand into eighteen parts.

Outside of that, in Meru's eight directions, the expanse of [Great] Jambūdvīpa is twenty-five thousand (leagues) - it has the shape of a ring. Outside of that, in all directions, is the half of one hundred thousand (league) measurement of the salt ocean. Just so are the measurements of the fire disc and the wind disc that are the ends of the bearer of the three existences.

Thus, there are two hundred thousand leagues in each of all the directions from Meru's place of Brahmā. In the body half of the chest is the earth disc. The upper arm is the water disc. the forearm is the fire disc. From the wrist to the end of the hand is the wind disc. Such are the measurements of the cosmos.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.20

Kālacakra is in the egg of Brahman. The host of gods rightly praise him together with the best of Jinas. The multitude of gods is on Meru, and the five castes of the snakes dwell below the surface of the earth. All the seats and auxiliary seats situated in the earth disc are in all directions of Śrī Meru. The fields and festivals (are in the ocean). The fairs, dwelling-places, and pyres are on the boundaries at the end of fire and wind.//

Now "Kālacakra is in the egg of Brahman" and so forth indicates the places of Kālacakra, the gods, the nagas, the seats, the auxiliary seats, and so forth.

[The overlord] Kālacakra is in the egg of Brahman outside, and in the gem of the uṣṇīṣa in the body. He, together with the best Jinas, is rightly praised. [Bodhicitta] together with all Buddhas assemble [all six elements] and becomes blended into one. The host of gods [- internally, the faculties and so forth], the bodhisattvas, and Brahmā and so forth rightly praise them.

The multitude of gods on Meru refers to Brahmā and so forth. [Since the gods' curses are effective, (they are called) "those whose arrows are invocations."][40]

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40 gīrbāṇa; tshig mda' (MW 355). Cf. girvaṇas: "delighting in invocations."

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The five castes dwelling below the surface of the earth are the multitudes of snakes. ["The five castes" are brahmans and so forth.][41]

Regarding, "All the seats and auxiliary seats situated in the earth disc are in all the directions," i.e., the eight directions, "of Śrī Meru": The seats are located [according to sequence] in the four directions due to the nature of wind (east), fire (south), water (north), and earth (west) - eastern Videha, Small Jambūdvīpa, northern Kuru, and western Godānīya.[42] The auxiliary seats are in the four intermediate directions due to that same nature [of wind and so forth] - in the southeast, southwest, northeast, and northwest directions.

Likewise, the fields and auxiliary fields are in [the previous directions and intermediate directions of] (the inner) half of the ocean. The festivals and auxiliary festivals are in the outer half of the ocean. The fairs and auxiliary fairs are in [the previous directions and intermediate directions of] half of the fire disc. The

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[41] I.e., the usual four plus the caṇḍālas, or outcastes. Winternitz (1981:570) refers to Mahānirvāṇatantra chapter 7 in which there is mention of a fifth caste, the sāmānyas, that arose from the mingling of the four earlier castes.

[42] These are the standard Buddhist names for the four main continents; cf. Abhidharmakośa 3.53-55; Kirfel (1920:183, 188).

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houses and auxiliary houses are in the other half of the fire. The charnel grounds and auxiliary charnel grounds are in [the previous directions and intermediate directions of] half of the wind disc. The eight great charnel grounds are at the end of the wind disc.[43]

Thus, one should know that the seats and so forth are the twelve (bodhisattva) stages. Also, the twelve stages are in the body - the twelve joints of the arms and legs.[44]

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[43] Śrī Kālacakra I.20d literally reads "fairs, pyres, and dwelling-places" (melāpakacitibhuvanaṃ; 'dus pa can dang ro khang gnas). I invert the order of the last two members of the compound in accordance with the Vimalaprabhā's interpretation.

[44] For more on the seats and so forth see Śrī Kālacakra V.35-36. The Vimalaprabhā's comment thereon cites a number of verses of the Paramādibuddha that list forty-eight sacred sites. For other lists of sacred sites see: Hevajra I.vii.10-18; Saṃvarodaya 9.13-25. The seats and so forth are identified with the bodhisattva stages at Hevajra I.vii.11; Saṃvarodaya 9.22-24.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.21

Śakra is in the east. Agni is in the southeast. Yama, Danu, and Varuṇa are in the south, southwest, and west. Vāyu, Yakṣa, and Hara are in the northwest, north, and northeast. Also, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are in the upper portion and below. Armed, together with their retinues, they guard and protect their respective directions. In the middle of them is Kālacakra, progenitor of the best of Jinas, indestructible, the Body of Vajra.//

Now are stated the sites of the direction protectors. Regarding, "Śakra is in the east": Śakra is in the east- Śakra is in the eastern direction of the summit of Meru. Agni is in the southeast. Yama is in the south (yāmye; gshin rje'i phyogs su). Danu is in the southwest (daitye; bden bral du). Varuṇa is in the west. Vāyu is in the northwest. Yakṣa is in the north. Hara is in the northeast. Brahmā is in the upper portion. Viṣṇu is below.

(U 74) These (gods), Śakra and so forth, are armed, and together with their retinues they guard and protect their respective directions. (Bu 470) In the middle of them is Kālacakra, progenitor of the Jinas,

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indestructible, the Body of Vajra. This means, "He is overlord of the direction protectors."[45]

Śrī Kālacakra I.22

The one the demons cannot conquer roams on the surface of the earth in the directions to the back of Meru. He well advances to wherever the Dharma is destroyed and the Kali age is conveyed. He also destroys the barbarians in battle, establishes them in his own Dharma, and wanders to the front. Indeed, the other Complete... Trey... Deuce... Kali age originates due to the junction of time.//

[The eleventh topic:] (D 48b) Now is stated the great cakravartin's tour around the twelve sections of the earth. Regarding, "in back of Meru...," and so forth: The one the demon barbarians cannot conquer roams on the surface of the earth in the directions to the back of

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[45] ["Kālacakra is in the middle of these" in the Outer. He is in the middle of the Inner and the ten channels of the heart. He is in the middle of that which causes the going and coming of the two drops in the middle of the five cakras - the navel (cakra) upwards - of the ten right and left winds. Since "Kālacakra"- Vajrasattva, the cessation of the winds in the middle channel, the nonemission of the drop, the connate gnosis- generates the separation of the aggregates from obscuration, he is the "progenitor of the Jinas."]

This arrangement of the eight direction protectors is a standard Indian scheme: cf. Apte 283 s.v. aṣṭādiś, citing the Amarakośa; MW 906 s.v. lokapāla, citing Manusmṛti 5.96.

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Meru. Cakrī roams in whatever place on the surface of the earth, [among the twelve] sections of the earth, the Dharma of the Tathāgata is destroyed and their contrary (barbarian) dharma is introduced.[46] That very introduction of non-dharma in the Kali age is the meaning of "the conveyance of the Kali age." The Kali age is that very one that consists of non-dharma. The one who excellently advances into whatever section the barbarian dharma has been conveyed is the one who well advances.

[Cakrī] destroys the barbarians in battle, and the word "also" (implies) the demons and so forth as well. He establishes these barbarians and so forth in his own [Buddhist] Dharma, then he wanders to the front.

Regarding, "Indeed, the other Complete... Trey... Deuce... Kali age originates due to the junction of time": Here [in the presentation of (the duration of) the doctrine] the "other" age consisting of Complete and so forth means "it is not the great Complete age and so forth" [in the presentation of the eon]. [This ("other") little (age) is twenty-one thousand, six hundred years: the measure of each (of the four ages within it) is five

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[46] Note: For teṣāṃ viparyāsadharmo (de dag las bzlog pa'i chos) Bu takes teṣam in the sense of an ablative; i.e., "the dharma that is the opposite of ('from') theirs" (i.e., that of the Tathāgatas). I read teṣam as a genitive agreeing with the dānavānāṃ mlecchānāṃ of the preceding sentence.

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thousand, four hundred years. The great age is said to be four million, three hundred and twenty thousand (years). This ("other" little age "is not") that.] This [lessor] age originates due to the junction of time. (Bu 471) Time is the twelve-spoked wheel of houses. Due to its junction means due to the junction (yoga; sbyor ba) of time; i.e., (the age) originates due to the divisions of the four junctures (saṃdhyā; mtshams).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.23

The Complete age advances into the section in which the mighty Cakrī enters; and the Trey is behind the king. Also, the Kali is in front, and the Deuce is between the two. The measurement of the years of the ages is twenty-one thousand together with taste (6) hundred. The measure of each of them is the humans' hundred years multiplied by age (4) arrow (5).//

The Complete age advances into the section in which the mighty Cakrī [Buddha] enters. [(He is called) "mighty" because he has the ability to destroy the might of the demons, barbarians, and so forth. (He is called) "Cakrī" because he has the wheel of Dharma.] The so-called Complete age means "the true, perfect Buddha's Dharma [of scripture and realizations] advances [in the Complete (age) from its thorough completion through to the nonexistence of one foot]."

And the Trey is behind the [Complete] king. The Trey is behind the king: at the end of the Complete, one foot of the Dharma [of scripture and realizations] is nonexistent [i.e., the expounders of the scriptural Dharma degenerate]. [Commencing from the degeneration of the practice of the Dharma of realizations, i.e.,] at the end

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of the Trey, two feet are nonexistent. (The Trey is the period [between] these two events.)

Also, the Kali is in front of the king. [It commences from the exhaustion of three feet of the Dharma, and lasts until] the nonexistence of four [i.e., all four] feet of the Dharma at the end of the eon.

Regarding, "And the Deuce is between the two": The Deuce is between the Kali and the Trey. [It commences from the nonexistence of two feet of the dharma and the existence of two, and lasts until] the nonexistence of three feet of the Dharma.[47]

The measurement of the years of the four ages is twenty-one thousand, together with taste (6) hundred. That measurement is twenty-one thousand with an additional "taste," i.e, six, hundred.

Regarding, "The measure of each of them (D 49a) is (the humans' hundred years) multiplied by age (4) arrow (5)": 'Age' is four. 'Arrow' is five. That which is multiplied by those fifty-four is multiplied by age (4) arrow (5).[48]

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[47] The theory of the four ages (caturyuga; dus bzhi) and the four "feet" of dharma is a borrowing from Brahmanism; cf. de la Vallée Poussin (1908:189) and Jacobi (1908:200).

[48] The number symbols (grang brda') are to be read backwards.

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Regarding, "the humans' hundred years": The hundred years multiplied amounts to five thousand, four hundred. The measurements of the individual ages are equal.[49]

Śrī Kālacakra I.24

In sequence, twenty-one thousand, six hundred subtle (breaths), respirations, dhru, half-hours (nāḍī; chu tshod), solar days, [dhru], and ages make up the measure of one solar day for the minute body-born, humans, ghosts, gods, demons, adepts, and superiors. On the surface of the earth an age conveys the measure of the adept. And Cakrī propels the status of peace from section to section. There are twelve suns in a solar day.//

(U 75; Bu 472) [The twelfth topic:] Now are stated the measurements of the breaths of humans, the body-born and so forth.

Regarding, "subtle (breaths), respirations," and so forth: "Subtle (breaths)" refers to one part of one human

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[49] This system of equal yugas is peculiar. The usual arrangement, e.g., in the Manusmṛti and the Mahābhārata, has unequal yugas, with the Complete age lasting 4,800 years, the Trey 3,600, the Deuce 2,400, and the Kali 1,200. Also, the years used to calculate the ages are usually divine years consisting of 360 human years (Jacobi 1908:200-201). Āryabhaṭa's Āryabhaṭīya propounds a system of equal yugas, with each yuga lasting 1,080,000 human years (Pingree 1981:14).

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inhalation and exhalation that is (divided into) twenty-one thousand, six hundred (parts). That is a subtle breath.

Six of those breaths make up one pāṇīpala (chu srang) of the body-born[50] families of insects and so forth. Sixty pāṇīpala make up a half-hour (ghaṭī; chu tshod). Sixty half-hours make up a solar day (dina; nyin zhag).

The so-called "solar day" amounts to twenty-one thousand, six hundred inhalations and exhalations of the body-born and so forth [- a single human breath].

The passing of these [body-born solar days, human] respirations makes up the humans' own solar day. Dhru make up the particular solar day of the ghosts and hungry ghosts. A "dhru" (dhru) is a breath multiplied by thirty human breaths. (Thus, it equals 30 human breaths, 5 pāṇīpala.) A [human] black lunar fortnight - a daytime, and a white lunar fortnight - a nighttime, is the particular solar day for the hungry ghosts, the ancestors, and so forth.

[The human] "half-hour" (nāḍī; chu tshod) is three hundred and sixty breaths. It is one breath of [the desire] gods [having the shortest lifespan]. [Six of those (breaths) are a pāṇīpala, and so forth.]

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50 tanuja; lus skyes. Not in Skt. lexicons.

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A "solar day" is twenty-one thousand, six hundred human breaths. It is one breath of the demons. [Six of those (breaths) are a pāṇīpala, and so forth.]

A "dhru" is a human year. It is one breath of an adept (śakti; nus pa). [Six of those (breaths) are a pāṇīpala, and so forth.] An "adept" is a living being (jāti; skye ba) of Akaniṣṭha.

An "age" is a sum of twenty-one thousand, six hundred human years. It is one breath of a superior (bhartṛ; gtso bo). [Six of those (breaths) are a pāṇīpala, and so forth.] A "superior" is a living being who approaches the sphere of neither perception nor nonperception.

In sequence, twenty-one thousand, six hundred subtle (breaths), respirations, dhru, half-hours (nāḍī; chu tshod), solar days, dhru, and ages (D 49b; Bu 473) make up the measure of one solar day for the minute body-born, humans, ghosts, gods, demons, adepts, and superiors. Thus, according to the previously stated sequence, twenty-one thousand, six hundred of these body-born and so forth's own breaths make up (their own) solar day.

These measures make up the measure [of one solar day] of the adept - the measure of the gods of Akaniṣṭha. (This means), "Cakrī's (human) age conveys the measure of [one solar day of] the adept [- one breath of a superior]."

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And Cakrī propels the status of peace from section to section. The Buddhadharma having been well-revolved in an individual section, the status of peace - the abode of great bliss - proceeds. There are twelve suns [of the Dharma that destroys the darkness of unknowing] in one day [of the adept, due to the Buddhadharma revolving in the twelve sections].

Also, there is an individual cakravartin who propagates the Dharma in each individual section. There are twelve cakravartins in one solar day [of the adept due to the division of the twelve junctions of time]. They proceed in each [section of the earth] by means of the eighteen hundred breaths of the adept [in that twelfth part of one breath of the superior] and eighteen hundred human years. Such [is the reason for the cakravartin sun -] the Dharma day-maker sun is the twelve suns that propagate the path of merit and gnosis. The twelve suns proceed outside due to the division of the twelve houses of a year. [Each house has eighteen hundred half-hours.]

(The preceding may be diagrammed as follows:)

Body-born

6 subtle breaths = 1 pāṇīpala

60 pāṇīpala = 1 half-hour (ghaṭī)

60 half-hours = 1 solar day

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1 solar day = 21,600 breaths

1 solar day = 1 human breath

Humans

6 breaths = 1 pāṇīpala

60 pāṇīpala = 1 half-hour (nāḍī)

60 half-hours = 1 solar day

1 solar day = 21,600 breaths

360 solar days = 1 dhru (year)

21,600 years = 1 age

Ghosts, Ancestors, etc.

6 breaths = 1 pāṇīpala

60 pāṇīpala = 1 half-hour

60 half-hours = 1 solar day

1 solar day = 21,600 dhru

1 dhru = 1 breath · 30 human breaths

1 dhru = 5 human pāṇīpala

1 solar day = 1 human lunar month

Gods (shortest lifespan desire gods)

1 human half-hour = 1 breath

6 breaths = 1 pāṇīpala

60 pāṇīpala = 1 half-hour

60 half-hours = 1 solar day

Demons

1 human solar day = 1 breath

Adepts (Akaniṣṭha)

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1 dhru (human year) = 1 breath

Superiors (4th formless concentration)

1 human age	= 1 breath
6 breaths	= 1 pāṇīpala
60 pāṇīpala	= 1 half-hour
60 half-hours	= 1 solar day

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Śrī Kālacakra I.25

The lunar fortnights, and all the months, the seasons, the periods, the fire (3) times, and the two passages - O king, these are all the year. Every day, the lagna, the ghaṭikā, and pāṇīpala - these proceed in such a fashion in each solar day of the minute body-born, humans, ghosts, gods, demons, adepts, and superiors; it is like that in the abode of the three existences, and in the middle of the body.//

Now are stated the divisions of time in the individual solar days by means of the divisions of the breath of the subtle (breaths) and so forth.

Regarding, "lunar fortnights" and so forth: Here, there are twenty-four lunar fortnights in each solar day of the body-born and so forth. [Externally there are "twenty-four" months, lagna, karaṇa, and "lunar fortnights" (?).]

Regarding, "all the months": (Bu 474) There are twelve months [and lagna]; six seasons;[51] four periods

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[51] [(1) the last half of winter (śiśira; dgun smad) - it is composed of the months of Puṣyā (rgyal) and Maghā (mchu); (2) spring (vasanta; dpyid); (3) the hot season (grīṣma; sos ka); (4) the rains (varṣā; dbyar); (5) fall (śarat; ston); and (6) the first half of winter (hemanta; dgun stod) - each has two lagna.]

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(yugasamaya; dus);[52] fire (3) times, i.e., three times;[53] and two passages [- each has six lagna].

Regarding, "O king, these are all the year": All these should be known as the divisions of the year

Likewise, 'every day' refers to the three hundred and sixty solar days. Regarding the lagna, the ghaṭikā,[54] and pāṇīpala [in one year]: There are four thousand, three hundred and twenty lagna [in one year]. (U 76) The ghaṭikā amount to twenty-one thousand, six hundred. (D 50a) There are one million, two hundred and ninety-six thousand pāṇīpala.

These proceed in such a fashion - these components of the year [the lunar fortnights and so forth] proceed in the individual solar days of the body-born and so forth by means of the divisions of (their) breaths.

Regarding that, [since the Inner breath and Outer half-hour are analogous] nine hundred breaths make up (vrajati; 'gyur) an [Inner] lunar fortnight. Twenty-four

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52 [(1) a spring that is composed of the three months of Uttaraphalguṇī (dbo), Citrā (nag pa), and Viśākhā (sa ga); (2) the rains; (3) fall; and (4) winter- each has three lagna.]

53 [(1) a spring that is composed of the four (months) Uttaraphalguṇī, Citrā, Viśākha, and *Parihāṭaka (? gdu bu); (2) the rains; and (3) winter - each has four lagna.]

54 N.B.: The Sanskrit inverts the order of lagna and ghaṭikā m.c.; cf. Śrī Kālacakra (S) I.25b.

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lunar fortnights make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally]. One thousand, eight hundred breaths make up [an Outer lagna and an Inner] month. Twelve months make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally].

Three thousand, six hundred breaths [and half-hours] make up a season [among the six seasons]; six seasons make up a solar day and a year. Five thousand, four hundred breaths [and half-hours] make up a period [of three lagna and three months]; four periods make up an [Outer] solar day and an [Inner] year. Seven thousand, two hundred breaths [and half-hours] make up one [- one among (three) -] time [of four lagna and months]; three times make up a solar day and a year. (Bu 475) Ten thousand, eight hundred breaths [and half-hours] make up a passage [of six lagna and months]; two passages make up a solar day and a year. Thus, twenty-one thousand, six hundred breaths of the body-born and so forth, according to their own measure, make up their individual solar day and year.

Likewise, sixty breaths make up an [Inner] nychthemeron (ahorātra; nyin mtshan) [in which an Outer solar day is calculated as one Inner year]; three hundred and sixty [Inner] nychthemerons make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally]. Five breaths make up a lagna [of the twelve lagna composing one Inner

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nychthemeron]; four thousand, three hundred and twenty lagna make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally]. One breath makes up a ghaṭikā [of the sixty half-hours that compose an Inner nychthemeron]. One sixtieth of one breath makes up a pāṇīpala [of the sixty pāṇīpala composing one Inner half-hour]. One three-hundred-and-sixtieth of a breath makes up a breath [of the six breaths calculated in one Inner pāṇīpala]; twenty-one thousand, six hundred [Inner] ghaṭikā make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally]. One million, two hundred and ninety-six thousand [Inner] pāṇīpala make up a solar day [Externally]] and a year [Internally]. Seven million, seven hundred and seventy-six thousand [Inner] breaths make up a solar day [Externally] and a year [Internally]. Likewise, seven hundred and seventy-seven million, six hundred thousand [Inner] breaths make up a hundred solar days [Externally] and a hundred years [Internally].

This supreme lifespan [of one hundred years] increases and decreases from the proper measure according to karma. It increases for yogis due to the power of yoga, and for ascetics due to the power of samadhi: one breath becomes a ghaṭikā. (Bu 476) (The lifespan) of sinful sentient beings becomes less due to the power of sin. This [measure of the supreme lifespan] is not

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determined by the best scripture and reasoning; however, it is said in the Vedas: "Indeed, a soul lives a hundred years, has a hundred faculties."[55]

Here, this statement, "the supreme lifespan of humans is a hundred years," is expanded - this is due to the increase of human lifespan in the Complete age. Here, from the point of view of the definitive meaning, the word 'soul' expresses (the meaning of) each solar day and each year - a hundred solar days and a hundred years (relate respectively to) the Outer and Inner. [If one multiplies twenty-one thousand, six hundred by one hundred, one obtains half of a Great Age.] Furthermore, by engaging a different (anya; gzhan) wheel of breaths, "Indeed, a soul lives a hundred years, has a hundred faculties."

Thus, in the Inner, two hundred solar days make up a [Great] Four Ages - (D 50b) [Internally] (that amounts to) four million, three hundred and twenty thousand breaths. In the Outer (it is composed of) [that number of] years.

Thus, by completely revolving both cakras [that each consist of five mandalas - i.e., the two transits ('pho ba)] the lifespan of both souls is one month [i.e., transit or lagna] and one [four] season (ṛtu; dus) [or,

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[55] Upadhyaya notes that this appears to be modelled on Aitareyabrāhmaṇa 2.17.4.19. Vimalaprabhā I.9.66 explains this as saṃdhyābhāṣā.

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alternately, one season of those that compose the six seasons].[56]

Regarding the ten left and right mandalas [of the overlord], prāṇa flows into one mandala through four hundred and thirty-two thousand years. Likewise, [after two million, one hundred and sixty thousand years in one transit] through five mandalas, all the planets enter into their own places of birth, [the middle channel and] the void. Regarding, "Then again, engaging another movement [- cakra], another soul emerges from the middle (channel)": This will be spoken of in a subsequent explanation [in verses eighty-seven and so forth of this chapter].

The Eighth Brief Account: A Summary of the Measurements of the Cosmos. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the King of Tantra Śrī Kālacakra that was Extracted from the Śrī Paramādibuddha.

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[56] Note: ṛtu; dus is used above for the six seasons.

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The Ninth Great Brief Account: The Formula For Knowing Astronomy

(U 77) [The thirteenth topic:] Now I shall elucidate "From [this] the first year..." and so forth, by which the Tathāgata prophesied the origination of Mañjuśrī in the land of Sambhala, the corruption of the [heterodox] astronomical textbooks due to the origination of the barbarian dharma, and the introduction of the laghukaraṇa (nyung ngu'i byed pa).

Śrī Kālacakra I.26

Six hundred years from [this] the first year, the master of men Yaśa will clearly appear in (the land) called 'Sambhala.' Naga (8) hundred years after that the barbarian dharma will definitely be introduced in the land of Mecca. At that time people on the earth should know the sphuṭalaghukaraṇa. The corruption of the textbooks on all of the surface of the earth will occur in the yoga of time.//

Regarding, "Six hundred years from [this] the first year, the master of men Yaśa will clearly appear in (the land) called 'Sambhala'": "[This] the first [year]"

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(ādya; lo 'di)[1] is the year of the Tathāgata's teaching of the [Kālacakra] Dharma. Six hundred years[2] from that year, "Yaśa," i.e., Mañjuśrī, the great Yaśas, "will clearly appear" in the land named "Sambhala" north of the Śītā River. ("Yaśa") is the reading in the text [-"Yaśa" given without a case ending is due to the metre, but actually it is Yaśaḥ.] ("Will clearly appear") means "he will take up an emanation body."

"Naga (8) hundred years after that," refers to (eight hundred years) after Yaśas' nirvana [,after he had taught the Dharma for a hundred years]. "Naga," i.e., in eight hundred years, "definitely," i.e., certainly, the barbarian dharma will be introduced in the land of Mecca.[3] The demonic dharma of the barbarian Tajiks[4] will be

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[1] ādyābdāt; lo 'di nas. In Śrī Kālacakra I.26a, Bu translates ādya as 'di nas, here as lo 'di. Ādya means "first" or "beginning," and the Tibetan translation is interpretive rather than literal. I put the meaning as interpreted by Bu in brackets, and supply the literal meaning in the main body of my translation.

Banerjee emends the text to adyābdāt, apparently following the Tibetan translation. I do not see any justification for this in the editio princeps or in our MSS. Later in the pāda he writes sambhala as śambhala; as mentioned above, MSS do not support this.

[2] ṣaṭśatābdaiḥ; drug brgya'i lo yis. This usage of the instrumental is peculiar.

[3] Skt.: makha; Tib.: ma kha; Arabic: makka.

[4] Skt.: tāyin (nom. sing. tāyī); Tib.: stag gzig (elsewhere spelled ta zig). Pingree (1981:97) says: "The [Sanskrit] word tājika is derived from the Pahlavī Tāzīg,

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introduced in the land of Mecca [the land of the Muslims (sog yul)[5]] adorned with ten million villages, south of

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a term which the Iranians applied to the Arabs; it in turn is derived from the name of the Arab tribe Ṭayyi'. Since the early eighth century, the Arabs and Persians who encroached on the Western coast of India were called Tājikas." Cf. also Hoffmann (1950:197 [n. 30]). However, the etymology of this ethnonym is even more complex. Sinor refers to Ssu-ma Ch'ien (died ca. 85 B.C.) who writes in the Shih-chi about the missions of Chang Ch'ien to Ta-hsia in 139 and 115 B.C. (Sinor 1971:66; cf. 90-91). A number of Chinese texts dating prior to the 8th century mention Ta-hsia, and Sinor (1971:89) concludes: "The land the Chinese sources call Ta-hsia coincides roughly with the land known as Bactria to the Greeks in the region which is now Afghanistan."

It is likely that many of the various Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan forms ultimately derive from an ancient, indigenous ethnonym of the (West Iranian) Tajiki-speaking Tajiks, who are still to be found in Afghanistan, the Tadzhik S.S.R., and other regions of Western Turkistan. It is also probable that an identification of the indigenous ethnonym and the Arabic ethnonym occurred subsequent to the Arab conquest of Western Turkistan in the early part of the 8th century. As the Arab conquerors intermarried with the indigenous population, and as the region was Islamicized, the Tajiks came to identify themselves with their rulers' ethnic heritage. At the same time, the Arabs constituted an insignificant addition to the gene pool, which remained basically Turkistani. Thus, by the 11th century, when the Vimalaprabhā was written, it makes no sense to refer to the Tajiks as Arabs: their religion was Islam, but racially they were Central Asians.

[5] The Tibetan ethnonym sog po was applied to various peoples at different times (cf. Hoffmann 1971, especially pp. 442-443). The itinerary of Urgyan pa (13th cent.) edited and translated by Tucci explicitly gives "Muslim" as a synonym for sog po: la la na hin dhu zhes pa rgya gar pa yod/ la la na mu sur man zhes pa sog po yod (Tucci 1940:94). "In some places there are 'Hindus,' Indians. In some places there are 'Mussulmans,' sog po" (cf. Tucci's interpretation on p. 45). Here and elsewhere in Bu ston's annotations to the Vimalaprabhā I believe the translation "Muslim" is called for.

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the Śītā River. (D 51a) At that time of the barbarians, people on the earth should know the sphuṭalaghukaraṇa [of the heterodox].[6]

Regarding, "the corruption of the textbooks": The Brahma (tshangs pa), Sauram (nyi ma), Yamanakam (= *Yavana?; gcer bu pa), and Romakam (sgra gcan) are the textbooks.[7] The corruption of these four is the corruption of the textbooks.

Regarding, "on all the surface of the earth": 'All' refers to all (the places) where the heterodox textbooks are introduced. The surface of the earth refers to south of the Śītā - there on the surface of the earth. It is not the case that the Buddhist textbooks in the lands of Sambhala and so forth will be corrupted.

Regarding, "will occur in the yoga of time": The

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[6] "Siddhāntas are comprehensive treatises deducing mean motions from the beginning of the Kalpa or the current Kaliyuga; karaṇas are more concise expositions of astronomy in which the mean longitudes for a time close to the date of composition are given, and the mean longitudes at later times are computed therefrom..." (Pingree 1981:13-14). I translate the term siddhānta as "textbook," and leave karaṇa untranslated.

[7] Vimalaprabhā I.9.86 (U 118; Bu 552), commenting on Śrī Kālacakra I.86, repeats this list. For these siddhāntas see: Burgess (1860:418-421); Pingree (1981:11, 13-17, 21-26).

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yoga of time is the barbarian dharma.[8] The joining (yoga; sbyor ba) of that with the [heterodox] textbooks is the yoga of time - it will occur due to that yoga of time.[9] Regarding, "in the yoga of time": [It should be in the ablative case, i.e., "due to," and the locative case, i.e., "in," is used. Thus,] the locative case is used for the ablative case.[10] (Thus, the meaning is "due to the yoga of time.")

Since the textbooks are corrupted, calling the laghukaraṇas "corrected" (sphuṭa; gsal)[11] is a mother's promise of candy.[12] Ultimately, the heterodox laghukaraṇas are not correct [- corrected (rnam par dag pa)]. Why? Because of the implication of, "the corruption of the textbooks."

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[8] Pingree (1981:30; cf. p. 34) says: "The influence of Islamic Ptolemaic theory upon Indian astronomy can be traced back to Muñjāla in the tenth century..." The Vimalaprabhā's reference to Islam's "corrupting" influence on the classical siddhāntas is historically interesting. It is unfortunate that Pingree did not treat the Kālacakra astronomy in his excellent survey of Indian astral literature.

[9] Bu omits the last clause.

[10] Cf. BHSG 7.82.

[11] Cf. Burgess (1860:195 ff.).

[12] [Just like saying, "I will give you a candy" in order to delight a little child, even though you do not have a candy, (the laghukaraṇas) delight the heterodox.] This idiom is also used in the Madhyamakahṛdayakārikā, Peking #5255; vol. 96, 10/2/6-7.

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If the [heterodox] karaṇas and so forth were corrected, then the textbooks would not be corrupt; for the karaṇa establishes the planet. [If you wonder what makes them incorrect:] Also, the other karaṇas do not seem to correct the (position of) sun by means of a thorough examination of the shadow on the solar day of the northward passage. Without the correct shadow in the northern passage, the sun's daily motion is incorrect. Due to the sun's daily motion being incorrect, the moon's daily motion is incorrect. Likewise, since Mars and so forth are also corrected [towards (phar)] the sun [and Venus and so forth are corrected away from (las tshur) (the sun)], their daily motions are also incorrect because of the sun's daily motion being incorrect. (Bu 479) Thus, because of the planets' daily motions being incorrect, the heterodox effects of the planets, [the vowel mandala of] the horoscopes (jātaka; skye rabs) and so forth are meaningless.

[If you wonder why they are incorrect:] Here, if women and children were able to establish the correct motions of the planets in the textbooks, these children and so forth would quickly understand the planets. Thus, the vicious heterodox, born from a bit of jealousy, pondered: "If women, children, and so forth - everyone- were to know the motions of the planets, then who will

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venerate us? (U 78) Therefore, let us conceal the textbook and devise the tantrakaraṇa and so forth." Then they hid the textbooks and displayed the tantrakaraṇa and so forth. They elaborated many quantities for the sum of days (ahargaṇa; nyin zhag gi tshogs) in the tantra, as well as four actions - slow, swift [sinking (*magna; *'bying [Bu is illegible]), and retrograde][13] in the karaṇa. Childish people see these things as inaccessible [- extremely difficult] and flee far away - they do not even want to hear the name of astronomy.

Thus, due to the force of time, the era (dhruvaka; nges pa) is not correct in the karaṇa. Since it is not correct, the sun's daily motion is incorrect. (D 51b) Due to the sun's daily motion being incorrect, the daily motions of all the planets are incorrect.

[The reason why it is not correct:] Here, the vicious heterodox arranged the karaṇa [the four movements ('gros)] and so forth so that others cannot understand them. Due to the force of time, these [heterodox] have come to not fully understand these things (themselves), because of (their) harm to others. Therefore, doing harm to others is a total contradiction.

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[13] Cf. Burgess (1860:195).

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Here, [how much] the daily motion of the planets progresses in each day will be explained [by our own system] in what follows [- in the subject of permanent calculation (rtag rtsis)].

Sri Kalacakra I.27

Add the past prabhava and so forth to fire (3) sky (0) ocean (4) - this establishes the year of the barbarian. Also, the remainder of the year of the lord of the barbarians less hand (2) hooded naga (8) moon (1) is multiplied by sun (12). Add the months Caitra and so forth; below, multiply by age (4). Divide by sky (0) fire (3) moon (1). Add the quotient above. O master of men, the sum of the months is correct.//

(Bu 480) [The fourteenth topic:] Now is stated a bit about the laghukaraṇa: "add fire (3) sky (0) ocean (4)."[14]

Here in the King of Tantra, the era (dhruvaka; nges pa) is impermanent because the era is again arranged at the end of sixty years.

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[14] vahnau khe 'bdhau; me mkha' rgya mtsho. "Fire (3) space (0) ocean (4)" is a "number symbol" (Tib. grangs brda). Pingree (1981:1) gives the Sanskrit as bhūtasaṅkhyā, and explains that they are "common objects that appear or are understood to appear in the world in fixed quantities [used] as synonyms for those quantities." In combination the symbols are to be read backwards; thus, the above example symbolizes the number 403.

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Here is the era in the karaṇa: Six hundred years from the time of the Tathāgata ["from the nirvana" and so forth] is the time of Mañjuśrī. Eight hundred years from that is the time of the barbarian. [The sum of years (lo'i tshogs) commencing] from that time of the barbarian less one hundred and eighty-two years is the time of Kalkī Aja - the Àja who corrected [(the era) for] the laghukaraṇa. [Since the sum of years commencing from (the time of Aja) is used,] that very time is the era in the karaṇa. [If you wonder what it is connected with,] (it is calculated) from the year of the barbarian.[15]

Regarding, "the past prabhava and so forth": The sixty years whose beginning, i.e., first, is prabhava, is prabhava and so forth.[16] The year preceding the particular current year among these is the past prabhava and so forth. Adding (the number of) those to the quantity (rāśi; phung po) four hundred and three establishes the year [subsequent to the beginning] of the barbarian.

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[15] The basis of the era in the Kālacakra laghukaraṇa is "the year of the lord of the barbarian," which was 403 at the time of the composition of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā; see Newman (1985:85 [n. 13]), (1987:100 [n. 24]).

[16] Here Bu cites Vajrapāṇi (150/3/1-4) for a full list of the years of the Jupiter sexagenary cycle. This sometimes differs from the list given by Vogel (1964:225-226, 312).

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Having made one year the first, however many (cycles) of sixty years there are is the quantity of the past prabhava and so forth. (Bu 481) That very [prabhava] year is well known [as the first of the years] in all the other karaṇas, just like Sunday, the first day of the week [is known as the first of the seven weekdays]. Adding that to the quantity four hundred and three years establishes the year of the barbarian.

The barbarian is Muhammad, the incarnation of al-Rahman, the teacher of the barbarian dharma, the guru and swami of the barbarian Tajiks. (madhumatī rahmaṇāvatāro mlecchadharmadeśako mlecchānāṃ tāyināṃ guruḥ svāmī; sbrang rtsi'i blo gros te ra hma ṇa'i 'jug pa kla klo'i chos ston pa po kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi bla ma dang rje bo'o.)

Regarding, 'the year of the lord of the barbarians less hand (2) hooded naga (8) moon (1)': (D 52a) Less one hundred and eighty-two is less hand (2) hooded naga (8) moon (1) - the year of the time of Kalkī Aja in the land of Sambhala. That very [reduced remainder] is the sum (piṇḍa; tshogs) of years in the laghukaraṇa.

Also, the remainder is multiplied by sun (12). That very sum of years, the remainder lessened by one hundred and eighty-two, is multiplied by sun (12) for the sum of months - multiplied by twelve it becomes the sum of months.

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Regarding, "add the months Caitra and so forth": For the current month, add the [past] months of the current [year], Caitra and so forth, to that very sum of months.

Regarding, "below, multiply by age (4)": (Make) that very sum of the months a lower and an upper quantity. Having make the lower quantity the sum of months, multiply it by age (4), i.e., multiply by four, in order to ascertain the additional months.

Regarding, "divide by sky (0) fire (3) moon (1)": Here, there is an additional (lunar) month in (each) thirty-two and one-half (solar) months because (the sun) does not transit [a house] of the sun on the new moon [because it does not progress one house each (lunar) month]. Due to that, [a house each (lunar) month] is not the daily motion (of the sun).

(U 79) Therefore, multiplying the quantity (32.5) by four produces the quantity of the divisor (bhāga; cha). Regarding the quantity of the divisor [that divides] having been multiplied by four: (Bu 482) the quantity of the dividend is multiplied by four because of the rule, "If there is no cause, no result occurs."[17]

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[17] [The "cause" is a value equivalent to the divisor - the quantity of the denominator. The "result" is something multiplied by four.]

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Therefore, the quotient (derived from dividing) the quantity of the dividend by the quantity of the divisor is the result. Add the quotient above - add that very quotient, the sum of the additional months, to the quantity of months above. O master of men, the sum of months is correct for calculating the thirty lunar days in the current month. (End of comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.27.)

(Note: The remainder of this brief account that treats astronomy [Śrī Kālacakra I.28-94; Vimalaprabhā I.9.28-94] is not translated in this dissertation.)

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The Tenth Great Brief Account: The Precept on the Procedure for the Svarodaya and the Machines

(Note: Śrī Kālacakra I.95-127 and Vimalaprabhā I.10.95-127, dealing with svarodaya[1] and astrology, are not translated in this thesis.)

Śrī Kālacakra I.128

If an enemy defeated in battle suddenly enters into a fort, construct machines outside. Then pulverize his fort with an incessant deluge of stones and flaming arrows, with the sword and other cutting machines, with the tents on the abode of the surface of the earth, and by breaching the turrets - one should subdue that wicked one for several days.//

(U 143; B 51b/7; Bu 590/2) [The nineteenth topic:] Now are stated the machines for destroying the forts of wicked enemies.

Regarding, "in battle" and so forth: If an enemy defeated in battle suddenly enters into a castle,

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[1] Svarodaya "describes various arrangements (cakras) of letters associated with time divisions and astrological entities, magical pictures of animals and objects (also called cakras), and arrangements of nakṣatras, months, and numbers relative to the directions (bhūmis), all of which promote the military victory of their user" (Pingree 1981:77).

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construct machines outside. Protect your own house with the falling stones and the deluge of flaming arrows incessantly shot by those machines, and with the sword and other cutting machines.

Then pulverize his fort by means of vajra tents on the abode of the surface of the earth, as well as by breaching the turrets (śṛṅgabhedha; lcog dbye ba) - one should subdue that wicked one for several days. This is proper.

Śrī Kālacakra I.129

The four pillars are twice eight (16) cubits (long), bored in eight places - in equal and unequal places. The different (places) have pegs - ocean (4) age (4) and age (4); also, one behind. The measure of the machine is ten hands (i.e., cubits) at the base; in the upper portion half of that. The catapult arm is diminished by two cubits, and the upper portion of the drum is excessive.//

(B 52a) Here are stated the characteristics of the machine that stones barricaded castles on level ground. Regarding "four" and so forth: The four pillars are "twice eight (16) cubits." [The pillars] of the best machine are sixteen cubits (long), quadrangular, and sixteen fingerbreadths in breadth. The pillars of the

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middling (machine) are fourteen cubits (long); fourteen fingerbreadths in breadth. The pillars of the least machine are twelve cubits (long); twelve fingerbreadths in breadth.

Also, those [pillars] are bored in eight places - in the equal and unequal places. The equal (places) are the eastern and western edges [because the holes have an equal number]. The unequal (places) are the southern and northern edges (because the holes have an unequal number). Those eight places are bored (with peg-holes) - the dimensions of the holes are one-third [of the breadths of the pillars].

Also, regarding those different (places): In the front there are four pegs; to the right, four; to the left, four; in the lower portion in back, one. There are just five holes in the rear pillars [- four holes in the east, one hole in the south and north]; eight [holes] in the front pillars.

Regarding the (breadth) measurement of the machine: At the base (of the four pillars) it is ten cubits (square); above, five cubits (square). The catapult arm (yaṣṭi; sgyogs mda') is two cubits less than the pillars [- fourteen cubits]. The measure of the drum[2] [- the

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[2] kaṇaya (=kaṇapa?); o log bcu (below trans. as gnam gdan and 'khrul shing).

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length of the 'phrul shing inserted in the head of the catapult arm -] is six cubits. The left and right (sides) of the drum are shaped like a cow's tail [- since it tapers, it is thick in the center and thin at the ends].

Śrī Kālacakra I.130

The circle is two and one-half cubits; there is a single fixed hole sage (7) fingers (broad), manu (14) fingers (deep). Eliminating a cubit, insert the catapult arm (in the hole). Nail the back portion of the drum. Fasten fifty ropes to the rings in the head; the measure of the top is a half-circle. Insert (the tongue) together with the finger in the end of the catapult arm; the circular collar is a span.//

(U 144) [The measure of the spindle (sbom):] The middle circle is two and one-half cubits. Both sides [on the spindle] are twenty fingerbreadths. The two [right and left] vases of the tip are thirty fingerbreadths. In the middle of this [middle] circle is a fourteen fingerbreadth hole, seven fingerbreadths in breadth. Eliminate one cubit of the catapult arm, and shape the remaining thirteen cubits into a cow's tail (i.e., taper them). Then, insert that catapult arm into the hole in

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the drum. Nail the back portion with an iron spike - this makes it firm.

There are two holes dividing the cubit of the head of the catapult arm into thirds. There are two rings (kaṭaka; a long) in those holes - sixty fingerbreadths around, in breadth the iron rods are six fingerbreadths. Fifty ropes should be fastened to each of them, "to the rings in the head."

At the end of the catapult arm is a twelve fingerbreadth (i.e., a span) circular collar (valaya; gnya' gnon). Insert [the tongue] together with the finger (aṅgulīkam; mdzub mo) in the tip of the catapult arm. Nail (the collar) with the catapult arm and (the finger) with the tongue with two spikes [for the tongue and finger].

One should know the finger in the tip of the tongue: (Bu 592) [Applying six fingerbreadths of the twelve fingerbreadth collar to the catapult arm,] six fingerbreadths are the measure of the tongue's collar. [The (catapult) tongue together with the finger] are inserted in the hole of the (tongue's) [collar] up to the collar of the catapult arm.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.131

The sling-pouch together with rope on the finger of the catapult arm is definitely three cubits. Insert the stone inside of that. The mighty pullers pull; released (the stone) goes swiftly in the sky, and suddenly it falls. It entirely pulverizes a garret and so forth, and a rampart, and then it goes underneath the ground, just like a lightning-bolt.//

The sling-pouch (kṣepaṇam; 'ur mthil) together with rope on this finger of the catapult arm is three cubits. Here, the hide sling-pouch is twenty-four fingerbreadths, to the right and left it has the shape of a cow's tail. On both hubs are two ropes made of cords exceeding two and one-half cubits.

The stone is inserted into that sling-pouch, the mighty pullers pull the ropes. Released, (the stone) goes swiftly in the sky, and suddenly falls. The stone completely pulverizes a garret and so forth, a barricade or a rampart, and then goes underneath the ground, just like a lightning-bolt.//

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Śrī Kālacakra I.132

Its finger is a half-moon; on the abode of the surface of the earth is the line of Brahmā. On two sides are two (sets of) eight release places. It should be released by clenching the fists of both hands. Released it indeed touches the earth. Due to the equal and unequal feet placed in the interior of the machine, the stone falls as one desires, in accordance with the threefold passage, for the destruction of the fort.//

The finger of that machine has the shape of a half-moon; on the abode of the surface of the earth [in the center] the line of Brahmā is underneath and equal with the finger. On two sides of that [line of Brahmā] are eight places for releasing the stone spaced every span. (U 145) It should be released by clenching the fists of both hands. At the time of release, the stone touches the earth. [Since it presses it a little, when "the stone touches the earth," it is released.]

The equal feet - the right feet - enter the interior of the machine. The unequal feet - the left feet - (also) enter. Due to them the stone falls as one desires, in accordance with the threefold passage - in accordance with the left, right, and middle passages - for the destruction of the fort.

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This is the precept for breaching [and destroying] forts on level ground.

Śrī Kālacakra I.133

[The catapult stone] which strikes an elephant instantly knocks it down [and kills it]; what need be said of little animals? [That catapult machine] knocks down the entire enemy force dwelling in the fort's garret who stand outside. What archers would vie with that [machine] in a battle for a fort on the abode of the surface of the earth? [Even if they are able] (to vie with it), an enemy who enters a fort where the machine strikes [goes] into the jaws of Death [because he dies].//

The verse "which strikes an elephant" is easily understandable.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.134

By means of two sets of six pillar-arms, both cavities are equal, neither excessive nor deficient. Each chamber is sun (12) cubits. Both chambers are equal, (a pillar) between a pair of cubits. All the individual cabins are covered with planks and hides, as well as with waxed cloths. One should make a machine with season (6), eight, fault (18), or three times day-maker sun (12) chambers.//

(Bu 593) Now are stated the characteristics of the water machine for capturing water forts - "six" and so forth.

Here, for a water machine [- a great ship], the (keel) timbers are six fingerbreadths (broad), fourteen cubits long. In the machine for elephants (the keel timbers) are twenty-four finger-breadths (broad). In the machine for horses they are twenty fingerbreadths. (B 52b) In the machine for men they are sixteen fingerbreadths.

By means of six pillars situated so they are spaced equally among twelve cubits, both [upper and lower] cavities are equal, neither excessive nor deficient. Each chamber [i.e., living space for the men and so forth] is twelve cubits. [There is a pillar] between a pair of cubits, i.e., two cubits, in the lower cavity and the

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upper cavity. The rule is, "Six pillars and two [upper and lower] cavities make up a chamber."[3]

All the individual cabins are covered with planks. Here, groove the arms on both sides, and groove one side on each plank. Then, protect the lower and upper edges of the plank on the other side. Then, insert one fingerbreadth from the plank in the middle in the middle of the plank, and one should fasten it so that the water will not enter. One should do likewise everywhere, below and above, in the east, west, north, and south.

The chamber for elephants is three cubits in height; for horses, two and one-half cubits; for men, two cubits.

Regarding, "with hides and waxed cloths": Those places of juncture of the individual planks should be sealed above with tanned hides and waxed cloths. So that the water of the waves does not enter into the middle of the chambers, a height of two cubits should be made in the place of the neck [of the ship] for entering the middle of the chambers.

There are many machines due to these divisions of inferior, middling, and best chambers. (Bu 594) A machine can consist of "season (6)," i.e., six, chambers.

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[3] The Vimalaprabhā's commentary here indicates that the last seven syllables of pādas a & b in this verse should be transposed, and I have translated the verse accordingly.

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A machine can consist of eight; or fault (18), i.e., eighteen; or three times day-maker sun (12), i.e., thirty-six; or twice that, i.e., twice that (number of) chambers. For traversing the great ocean, (a machine can consist of) up to one thousand chambers.

Śrī Kālacakra I.135

Although they deviate, each pair (of tips of the planks) between the chambers are sealed with the arms, or all around. In the stern are six oarsmen; in the bow the machine's passengers are equal (to the number of) both arms. (The machine) is driven by wind - by the fluttering wind-cloths bound to the masts. One's own army mounted on that goes on the ocean to destroy a water fort.//

(U 146) Here, outside, in the four arms means in [the four] eastern and western arms of the individual chambers, and in the northern and southern, i.e., right and left (arms) in the body of the two cavities. All the chambers should be fastened to each other by boring both tips of three cubit planks in these four arms, and in the timbers of the pillars that stick out of the holes bored in the arms, that are one-third as broad as the arms. (The arms to be bored are) in the four corners of the chambers.

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[Regarding the sealing:] The oarsmen row in the remaining open places. Excluding the rowing places, the top, or the entire east and west, is sealed [with planks].

[If (the ship) has six chambers] there are six oarsmen in the stern of the entire machine. Likewise, (a ship may have) twelve, twenty, or up to one hundred (oarsmen).

In front of those oarsmen [the number of] the machine's passengers are equal to (the number of) both arms. There can be up to a thousand because it accords with the (size of the) machine.

Alternately, considering (the machine's propulsion) in conformity with wind, that machine is driven by wind- by the fluttering wind-cloths, i.e., sails, bound to the masts.

One's own army mounted on that goes on the ocean to destroy a water fort, i.e., "to capture an island." This is proper to subjugate the wicked.

These are the characteristics of the water machine.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.136

Fasten a waving wind-cloth, and a post together with banners, in one ocean (4)-cornered platform. Men pull (the machine) from the back side, and it goes up from the earth by the rope. Rising up by the wind, it definitely goes in the sky above the fort on a crag. The fire-oil cast from that (machine) completely incinerates the enemy's army and the entire fort.//

(Bu 595) Now is stated the wind machine for casting fire-oil in order to destroy a mountain fort - "in one" and so forth.

Here, in the middle of a four cubit, quadrangular, slab platform is a three cubit (long), twelve fingerbreadth broad, circular post. On the left, right, front, and back corners [of the slab] are iron stakes with rings. One should tie the head of the post to the rings with ropes. One should cover (the machine) with tough cloths as far as the two upper and lower portions of the machine.

Here, the banners in the corners [of the slab] are five cubits (long), a cubit in breadth. There are three ropes up to two cubits in the rings of the lower, left, and right corners. Combining that into one, it is similar to the height measurement of the mountain fort.

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Men pull (the machine) by that rope from behind [the fort], and it goes up from the earth by the rope. Then that machine, rising up by the wind, definitely goes in the sky in order to destroy the fort on a crag.

In the top of that, there in the machine, one should place fire-oil and one man with fire. (B 53a) The fire-oil cast by that man from the wind-machine completely incinerates the enemy's army and the entire fort. This is certainly the rule for destroying mountain forts.

Śrī Kālacakra I.137

Insert a single-pointed pulley in the base of the wheel, and also, the spokes are every two fingerbreadths in the wheel above. They should be arranged on the entire end of the disc. The wheel is two and one-half cubits. Also, there is another axle there above the pulley. Above the axle a sharp sword rotates rapidly due to the rotation of the base of the machine.//[4]

(U 147) The cleaver machine is to be understood by directly seeing it, and the verse also states it clearly.

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[4] The Skt. (all MSS) and Tib. differ considerably in pāda a, affecting the meaning of pāda b. The Skt. of ab reads something like this: "There is a well-wheel at the base of the drum (kaṇaya), and another wheel above. The spokes are arranged every two fingerbreadths on the entire end of the disc."

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[(Bu ston's annotations to Śrī Kālacakra I.137; parenthetical insertions are taken from TC 1061/6-1062/3:) Regarding the cleaver machine of rotating swords: "A single-pointed pulley" (gnam dgan) made from iron is "inserted" in the lower orifice in the nose of the axle (yaṣṭi; srog shing) "in the base of the" machine's "wheel" (of swords). "And also," the wheel's "spokes are (inserted) every two fingerbreadths (of the axle's disc) in the wheel (made like the mill-stone of a water mill) above" the pulley. (The spokes) "should be arranged (so that they cover) the entire end of the" axle's "disc."

Regarding the measure of "the wheel": In diameter it "is two and one-half cubits." "Also, there is a (wheel's) axle other (than the [first] wheel situated) there above the pulley." (At the tip) "above the axle" one or many "sharp swords" are securely fastened (i.e., inserted, just as the lower wheel's spokes were fixed).

(Regarding the thing that turns it:) "Due to the rotation (of the lower wheel) of the base of the (sword) machine" by water or wind, "they rotate rapidly" hacking (i.e., destroying) the enemy's body.]

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Śrī Kālacakra I.138

The wind machine goes in the sky by rope in stages from one's own place. Having drawn the rope it definitely advances to the enemies' residence above the fort. The measure on the ground may also be indicated by that - by breaching the turrets of the enemies' fort. Having placed (a man) in the peak, he should set fire to the surface of the enemies' house and pavilion.//

Likewise, although (this particular wind machine) breaches turrets (instead of casting fire-oil), the wind machine has been demonstrated (in verse 136), and also, the (present) verse is clear. Here there is no need for commentary.

[(Bu ston's annotations:) Regarding the wind machine that breeches the turrets of forts: "The wind machine"- similar to the wind machine explained for casting fire-oil - men pull "by rope, goes in the sky in stages from one's own place" to the place of the enemies' fort. Men "having drawn the rope," that machine "definitely advances to the enemies' residence above the fort."

"The measure" of the rope "on the ground may also be indicated by that" measure up to the fort - "by breaching the turrets of the enemies' fort." "Having placed" a man with fire "in the peak" of the wind machine, "he should

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set fire to the surface of the enemies' house and pavilion."]

Śrī Kālacakra I.139

Prepare a great mansion with iron and timbers on top of wheels. In the shape of a circle, it is completely covered with planks and buffalo hides. Driven by men, it goes on level ground right up to the trench. Having filled that trench, one instantly enters the wall and the rampart of the castle.//

Likewise, I also have no desire to discuss the vajra tent. [(Bu ston's annotations:) Regarding the vajra tent machine: "Prepare a great mansion" in the shape of a tent "with iron and timbers on top of wheels" that are like chariot wheels. "In the shape of a circle, it is completely covered" in between "with planks and" outside "with buffalo hides." "Driven by men" who drag the wheel, "it goes on level ground right up to the trench" of the enemies' castle. "Having filled that trench" with earth, when it is made level "one instantly enters the wall and rampart of the castle."]

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Śrī Kālacakra I.140

Definitely fasten a strung bow, so that it does not move, on two spikes on a platform. Then (fix) half-curves similar to fingers on the well-formed drum on the two iron spikes in the rear. At the time of battle, the [bow-] string on the tip of the finger shoots many straight arrows or sharp harpoons that pierce and pass through the body of an armored elephant.//

Now is stated the harpoon machine for piercing an armored elephant in battle.

(Bu 596) Make a slot having the (length) measure of the harpoon, the breadth of which is six fingerbreadths. Then, (place) a quadrangular, six fingerbreadth (long) iron rod in the lower, upper, right, and left portions of that [slot]. In the [nail] holes in the tip (of the rod) fasten a strung bow with iron spikes, so that it does not move, at the two [right and left] joints and in the middle. Then again, (nail) two quadrangular iron spikes to the right and the left in the rear of the [machine's] platform. [Having planted] spikes in the tip of the [previous] iron rod, insert the two tips of the drum (kaṇaya; 'khrul shing) in the holes [of the nose of those spikes]. There are fingers [similar to the teeth of a bre

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measure] on the middle of the drum - six, five, four, three, or two.

Below [the platform] one should insert one small iron rod having the measure of a little finger, three fingerbreadths broad, in the moveable ring of the lower spike. (U 148) Above, tie the strings to the tip of the finger. The harpoon and the strings are at the individual junctions [of the tip] at that tip of the finger. At the time of battle, that string shoots many straight arrows or sharp harpoons that pierce and pass through the body of an armored elephant.

This is the precept for the harpoon machine.[5]

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[5] mKhas grub (TC 1063/4-1064/1) says that the preceding war machines are intended for bodhisattva kings, but are not explained in detail because they are potentially very harmful if misused. He also says that some scholars explain the machines in relation to the yoga of the completion process, but this is unacceptable to mKhas grub himself. mKhas grub is of the opinion that the machines are to be taken literally, and compares them to the various "worldly activities" taught in other tantras that the great siddhas and scholars have explained in a literal fashion.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.141

Two pillars firmly planted within the ground are wrapped with ropes. They, together with the disc, are encircled with many coils; insert a sword hilt in the middle of the ropes. In the middle of that (disc) a sword hilt is firmly nailed so that it does not move. The tip portion of the sword edge together with the circle of the seal is compressed and also covered.//

Now is stated the underground sword machine for protecting the king's palace.

Regarding, "two pillars": Here, there are two quadrangular pillars measuring twelve fingerbreadths in breadth, four cubits (long). Two cubits are implanted in the ground at the bottom of a pit, and two cubits remain within the pit. In that, disregard one and one-half cubits upwards from the ground of the pit; from that (level) one should insert a peg in the holes of the left and right pillars. Disregarding six fingerbreadths upwards [in the tip of the pillars], one should wrap them with ropes so that the disc will move.

(Bu 597) Insert a sword hilt in the middle of the disc in the middle of those two ropes: First, encircle the disc with many coils. Insert the sword hilt in the

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middle of the disc and nail it to the upper portion [of the drum].

Likewise, from the front the two pillars are encircled in the reverse fashion: compressing the tip portion of the [drum of the] seal situated at the top of the [hilt of the] sword refers to compressing the tip of the seal situated at the tip of the sword with rope [coiled in the reverse fashion]. There is a drum measuring six fingerbreadths in the drum's portion of the tip of the sword's hilt.

Śrī Kālacakra I.142

On top of that (pit) is a disguised hole, and in a plank is the exit of that which is disturbed. Also, one little thing made from iron should be placed in the middle portion of the moon on top of the sword. One whose foot steps on top of the moon is suddenly cut by the sword. When the castle gates are destroyed, the machine alone is the weapon at the residence of the king.//

Then, having quit the sword's exit, one should cover the top of the pit with planks. [One should make the drum for the] exit that is to be disturbed by someone [who places their foot on the plank] - a little thing made from iron.

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"Moon" is secret speech [for drum]. "The middle" is [stated to] describe [the plank]. Here, one should place a plank on top of the drum at the tip of the sword's hilt. It is naturally understood that "the sword cuts one whose foot steps on that plank." "The precept for the sword machine" is the precept of the characteristics of the sword machine.

Thus, when the castle gates are destroyed at the time of battle, quit the usual, main passage-way to the king's residence, and (set up) many machines.

This is the precept for the underground sword machine.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.143

Above the axle the primary seat is (made) of sun (12) hands; (the squares) are one-ninth the measure of the wheel. In the corner the pillar (is separated) by pegs. (There are) equal and unequal chariots; (an unequal chariot) is half again the measure of the seat. In half of the portion is the place for the fighter. The equal and unequal draught animals are horses or elephants. Upwards from that, in the half place for the emblems, it is arrayed with mirrors, garlands, banners and so forth.//

Now are stated the characteristics of the chariot for the fight of the warriors.

(U 149) Regarding, "above the axle" and so forth: Here, for a chariot, first one should make a firm axle. (Bu 598) The measure of the wheel of a horse chariot is two and one-half cubits [in diameter]. (The wheel's) axle is four times [the measure of the wheel], (the size of the circumference) plus a little extra. With that measure (of the wheel in the portion of the disc doubled, make it) quadrangular (in shape, and at the two ends,) circular (to the measure of the wheel).

Then, on top of the axle (make) a seat (for people to sit, or a dwelling house) consisting of nine squares (koṣṭha; re mig) that are one-ninth the measure of the

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wheel, in the eight directions and in the middle. That (is made) "of sun (12) hands"; i.e., of twelve hands that are six fingers in breadth - the seat is made of six of the east and west, six of the south and north.

The axle is fourteen fingers in breadth. Divide that into three portions, eliminate the middle portion, and bore it in the place of the two tips. Insert the spokes of the wheel into those two holes, and spike them together to the axle.

(B 53b) There is a fixed iron drum on the rim of the wheel; it revolves together with the wheel inserted in the support's hole-ring.

Then, there are four pillars - the hand of the seat in breadth and twice in length - in the four corners of that seat. Also, they are separated by pegs in the four directions and are separated above and below.

An equal chariot is propelled by an equal (number of) horses; an unequal chariot is propelled by an unequal (number of) horses. Two, four, and six are equal (numbers of) horses; three, five, and seven are unequal (numbers of) horses. An unequal chariot is half again the measure of the seat.

Regarding, "in half of the" upper "portion is the place for the fighter": Eliminate one portion [that is two seats in breadth] of the upper pillars, the measure of

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the seat, and half of a portion above the seat is the place for the fighter. It is the measure of half the seat, due to the height of the unequal and equal draught animals, the horses or elephants.

[One place for a fighter] is eight fingers in breadth and twice the seat in length; (Bu 599) fasten them together with pegs.

Then below and above the portion of the seat is the half place for the emblems; above four fingers. That place [for the emblems] is arrayed with mirrors, garlands, banners, and so forth. The words 'and so forth' indicate [the emblems], yak tails, canopies, bells, and so forth. In the middle of the place for the fighter and the place for the emblems, the four directions are open for fighting.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.144

One (section has) two half-sections. There are moon (1), hand (2), and fire (3) (sections) for the primary seat and (the other) seats in the single portion of the circle (diameter) together with half (of the circumference). The base of the lotus chariot is equal in the division of joy. The measure of the wheel together with the base is one and one-half cubits, and two-fold, with respect to horses and elephants. The lotus type is for the gods; the one designed by the son of a god - the joy type - is for men.//

Regarding, "one (section has) two half-sections": One section is in the place for the fighters, below the primary seat. A half-section is in the open and [a half-section is for arraying] the emblems; these are the two sections.

Regarding, "moon (1), hand (2), and fire (3)": On top of the primary seat of the pillar's pegs, there is one section of four fingers in the [chariot] driver's place. Then, there are two sections of four fingers in the pillars' place for the fighters' fighting. Then, there are three sections of four fingers on top of the pillars. On top of that is the place for the emblems, for the banners and so forth. (U 150) The previously mentioned

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are on the seat and above in the single portion of the circle [i.e., the diameter] together with half [of the circumference].

Regarding, "in the division of joy": In the division of the chariot of joy the lotus chariot's base is quadrangular.

In the sequence thus stated, the measure of the wheel together with the base [seat] is one and one-half cubits for a horse chariot. The measure for the elephant chariot is two-fold, due to the measure of the horse chariot. The rule is: "for the wheels, seats, pegs, emblems, and so forth."

Here, the lotus type of chariot for the gods is circular. "The one designed by the son of a god" (Bu 600) - the chariot of Arjuna - is the joy type, quadrangular. The chariot design for other men, for kshatriyas, is also quadrangular.

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Here, there are three types - the great chariot, the half, and the equal - due to eight and ocean (4) axles and wheels. The divine chariot of the sun has one wheel and unequal horses; it destroys the demons. The great unequal and equal chariot of the kshatriyas is unstoppable in battle. Broken above and in front, the breaking of the back is equal in equal and unequal combat.//

Regarding, "Here, there are three types - the great chariot, the half, and the equal - due to eight and ocean (4) axles and wheels": Here, the great chariot that is unstoppable in battle has four axles and eight wheels. A half chariot has axles in front and behind, and four wheels. Therefore, "eight" refers to the wheels; "ocean" (4) refers to the four axles. Thus, "three types" refers to four wheels as well as two; likewise the axles. A chariot (syandana; shing rta) is equal, i.e., similar, to half a chariot (ratha; shing rta).

Regarding, "the divine chariot of the sun has one wheel": The chariot of the gods has one wheel; likewise the sun's. "Unequal" and so forth is easily understandable.

"An equal chariot has one axle and two wheels; the

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back of the yoke is broken"; this is the precept for the characteristics of chariots.

Śrī Kālacakra I.146

Six, five, ocean (4), and fire (3) portions make the holes equal in the end of a pillar. Due to the stories, there is a half portion upwards from the primary (portion) in the heavenly car of the immortals. And the same holds true on earth, in accordance with the three types of stories of kings, in (the car for conveying a king) on a tour of the country and to a festival. Cubit to cubit there is a great spinning (plank) in all directions.//

Now are stated the characteristics of the heavenly car for the gods, and of the house for conveying kings on tour.

(U 151) Regarding, "six" and so forth: Here, there are four twenty cubit pillars, twenty fingerbreadths in breadth. They are bored equally in their four ends: one end of the holes is in a six cubit section [of the pillar]; the second is in a five cubit section [from that]; then, the third is in a four cubit section; the fourth is in a three cubit section. Eliminating a cubit both below [the six cubits] and above [the three], the end for the holes is in front.

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The primary portion on the floor [of the lower foundation] is thirteen cubits [in diameter]. Upwards from the primary portion, a half portion [of the primary (portion)] on the floor is seven and one-half cubits; (Bu 601) there is a floor for the stories [above the ground] due to each story. In the heavenly car for the host [of gods], there is a floor each four pegs upward. And the same holds true on earth, in accordance with the three types of stories of kings, (in the car for conveying a king) on a tour of the country and to a festival.

On the first floor [of the three floors], (B 54a) planks spin all around above the pegs that come out from the holes outside of the pillars - they spin around three cubits [in width]. In the second story they spin in all directions for one [cubit in width].

This is the precept for the characteristics of the heavenly car of the gods and the house for the [king's] procession [on tour].

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Śrī Kālacakra I.147

Above the wheel, at the peak of the pillar, there are swing-seats in all directions, in accordance with the three types of stories. (There are) two eights, eight, and then one-half (the number of swing-seats, and) direction (10), season (6), and era (4) arm-supports on the three floors. The seats for young women on the drums held by the arms revolve above and below. Arranged within and without, they go below and above, and swing in the eight directions.//

Now are stated the characteristics of the merry-go-round for the spring festival.

Regarding, "above the wheel" and so forth: Here, as with the previous chariot, there are eight wheels and a primary seat. Above that [primary seat] there are four pillars having the expanse of the elephant chariot's pillars. Like [the former] heavenly car, there are swing-seats consisting of three types of stories.

Regarding, "two eights, eight, and then half (the number of swing-seats)" above each four pegs: On the first story there are sixteen swing-seats in the four directions. On the second, eight; on the third, four.

On the first story there are swing-seats due to the direction (10), i.e., ten, arms [of the swing-seats]

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situated above the pegs, situated to the right [i.e., south], left [north], east, and west. On the second [story] they are due to the season (6), i.e., six [arms of the swing-seats]. On the third they are due to four (arms).

Regarding the swing-seats' "arm-supports on the three floors": There are individual drums inserted in the bored support in each two arms. On each drum there are four seats for young women. (Bu 602) [Furthermore, those seats] "arranged within and without, go below and above, and swing in the eight directions" - this is the precept for the characteristics of the merry-go-round.

Śrī Kālacakra I.148

Above and below [the tube] is curved, and the machine is in the shape of a tube in all directions. There is a hole in the tip of the tube, as well as in the body of the pot; it has the measure of the aperture of the tube. It draws water, and the drawn water is released from the aperture of the pot; it goes where it is led, to the level earth of a grove or garden.//

Now are stated the characteristics of the water machine for irrigating gardens and so forth.

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(U 152) Regarding, "above" and so forth: The machine has the shape of a curved tube above, below, left, and right. In the middle is the primary machine - the four cubit middle together with [the base and tip] hole.

The tip of the neck-tube of the mouth of the pot [that is the surface for the current] is inserted in the tip of that (primary machine's) tube. The hole below in the pot has the measure of the tube's aperture.

The other tube [that draws] (the water) in the tip of the tube to the back of the [primary] machine should be inserted into the water. Then the hole of the pot, and the hole of the tube gone into the water, or the hole of the tube from the front, should be sealed [and blocked].

Then, one should insert water by means of the middle hole of the primary machine until the machine becomes full of water. Then, the hole [of the primary machine] that is in the water, of the hole of the pot [and the hole of the conveying tube] instantaneously draws water into the pot from the lake. That very water goes to a grove or garden; "it goes to the level ground to which it is led" - this is the precept for the characteristics of the irrigating machine. (TC 1065/3-1066/5 offers more explanation of this machine.)

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Śrī Kālacakra I.149

The guru of the three existences previously told these things in the Ādibuddha to Sucandra, for the subjugation of the wicked ones, and so that the righteous will be victorious, on the surface of the most excellent earth. From among that I have clearly shown a little bit to you here today in this land. Do all these things in order to protect your own place, O Sūrya, not out of hatred or greed!//

Now is stated Mañjuśrī's command to Sūryaratha.

Regarding, "the wicked ones" and so forth: "Here, the guru of the three existences - the Lion of the Śākyas - previously told all the characteristics of the svarodaya and the machines in the Ādibuddha [the Basic Tantra] to Vajrapāṇi's emanation body Sucandra, in order to subjugate the wicked ones. From among that, from among that performance of the svarodaya and the machines (Bu 603), I, Mañjuśrī, the lord of men Yaśas, have clearly shown a little bit to you, O Sūryaratha, here today in this land called Sambhala. Do all these things in order to protect your own place, O Sūrya, not out of hatred or greed!"

Just like the command to Sūryaratha [not to do these out of hatred or greed], the Bhagavān also commands other [disciples] who fully understand the Kālacakra.

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The Tenth Great Brief Account: The Precept on the Procedure for the Svarodaya and the Machines. From the Vimalaprabhā, the Twelve Thousand Line Commentary on the Abridged Kālacakra King of Tantra, Extracted from the Paramādibuddha. [The ten "Brief Accounts" symbolize the ten subjects of the Outer, Inner, and Other, or the pure Mighty One In Ten Aspects.]

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Śrī Kālacakra I.150-170

Now, the great cakravartin's eradication of the barbarian dharma, his establishment of the Buddhadharma, and so forth, is easily understandable; therefore, it will not be mentioned in the commentary.

[In order to symbolize that the all-pervasive, definitive meaning Kālacakra - the shape of the gnosis drawing - pervades the ten subjects, it has been left as easily understandable. (I,) Bu ston, wrote the annotations to the first chapter. I compared (this translation) with the manuscript it is based on ('gyur stan) and made it extremely accurate.]

This completes the commentary on the "Chapter on the Cosmos." [Śubham] (U 152.25; B 54a/7; Bu 603/6).

Śrī Kālacakra I.150

The land of karma is situated in the middle of the oceans of liquor and saltwater, on the disc of the sage (7) earth. And the master of men sequentially circles the sun (12) sections in three hundred thousand leagues. One section has twenty-five thousand leagues, together with wealth (8) petals. In the middle of that is Kailāsa, surrounded in all directions by excellent snow mountains.//

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NOTE: As stated above, the Vimalaprabhā does not comment on Śrī Kālacakra I.150-170. The reader should bear in mind that the commentary given below in [square brackets] is Bu ston's annotations to the verses of the tantra with the actual text of the tantra being given in "quotation marks." I have supplemented Bu ston's annotations with material drawn from mKhas grub (TC 1067/3-1113/3) and Padminī (65/2/7-67/2/7).

[The twentieth topic: The natural topic of the cakravartin's tour around the twelve sections of the earth.

Great Jambūdvīpa, "the land of karma, is situated in the middle" of two "oceans" - the sixth inner ocean of "liquor" and the seventh, outer ocean of "saltwater - on the disc of the sage (7) earth," i.e., the seventh continent.

The measure of the outer circumference of that is "three hundred thousand leagues." Just as the sun circles in accordance with the differentiation of the lagnas, "the master of men," Bhagavān Kālacakra, "sequentially circles the sun (12) sections," i.e., the twelve continents.

"One section," a continent, "has twenty-five thousand leagues" - the measure of the circumference obtained by dividing three hundred thousand into twelve parts. Also, each continent "has wealth (8) petals," i.e., the eight

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parts of the cardinal and intermediate directions. "In the middle of that" - the eight petals of Small Jambūdvīpa - "is Kailāsa." Also, it is "surrounded in all directions by excellent snow mountains."]

mKhas grub (TC 1068/4-6) rejects Bu ston's identification of "the master of men" with Bhagavān Kālacakra, which, he notes, derives from Padminī (65/3/3). His reason is that Bhagavān Kālacakra is a Buddha who has completed the twelve stages whereas Kalkī Cakrī is a tenth stage bodhisattva. Thus, mKhas grub identifies "the master of men" as Raudra Cakrī. Nevertheless, one would like to know Bu ston's reason for accepting Padminī's gloss. Many of Bu ston's annotations on this section of the tantra are taken from Padminī, but as we will see later, Bu ston, like mKhas grub, is willing to point out errors in Padminī's explanations.

mKhas grub continues (TC 1068/6-1075/5) with a description and refutation of various Tibetan views on the size, shape, and position of Sambhala within Small Jambūdvīpa. These include Padminī's interpretation (followed by Bu ston) that was translated above. Two of the more important views mKhas grub rejects are: (1) The Kailāsa section makes up one-third of Small Jambūdvīpa (see Bu ston on the next verse). This is unacceptable because of the explanation of the varying shadows of the

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gnomon in the different regions. (2) India, etc., are included in the ninety-six great lands of Sambhala. This would entail that the kings of these regions would have learned the Kālacakra from the Buddha, which, he says, is ridiculous, and it also contradicts the repeated statement that the ninety-six lands are north of the Śītā River.

mKhas grub (TC 1075/5-1077/5) follows this with a detailed presentation of the view he accepts, a close paraphrase of which is given below:

Small Jambūdvīpa is 25,000 leagues long from south to north, and is divided into six equal sections: (1) the land of the Aryans (i.e., India), (2) Tibet, (3) Khotan, (4) China, (5) Great China, and (6) Kailāsa. North of, or behind, the Kailāsa section is Meru, and to the south, or in front, flows the Śītā River. The right half of this section is in the west, and the left is in the east. The land called Sambhala is in the right, i.e., western, half. (On the "right" half, see the notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.151.)

Sambhala's length from north to south is the same as that of the Kailāsa section. Its perimeter is surrounded by mountains - snow mountains and so forth. Sambhala is shaped like a lotus - the central third is the pericarp, which is surrounded by eight petals.

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Thus, the Kalāpa palace of the Dharma Kings and Kalkīs is in the middle of the vast plateau on top of the circular Kailāsa mountain. Kalāpa is twelve leagues in breadth. In front of Kalāpa, in the middle of the southern quarter, is a twelve league sandalwood pleasure grove. In the grove is the Kālacakra mandala palace erected by King Sucandra. To the east of the pleasure grove is a twelve league wide miniature Mānasa lake; to the west is an equivalent white lotus lake.

There are ten million villages is Kalāpa's district. The plain the district is situated on is surrounded by forested, snow-capped mountains. From Kalāpa to the base of the mountains is five hundred leagues; to obtain the overall diameter of the pericarp one must add the measurement of the base of the surrounding mountains.

Outside of the pericarp there are 120,000,000 villages in each of the eight petals. Each 10,000,000 villages is subdivided into districts of 100,000 villages. 120,000,000 villages together comprise "twelve great lands." Each 10,000,000 villages has a king, thus making ninety-six satraps, and they all teach the Kālacakra.

mKhas grub (TC 1077/5-1078/1) continues by applying his own interpretation to Śrī Kālacakra I.150cd; this differs significantly from Bu ston's explanation. mKhas grub says that the "one section" in pāda c refers

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exclusively to Small Jambūdvīpa, and that its unique quality is possession of an "eight-petalled" land. "In the middle of that" eight-petalled land, like a pericarp, "is the mountain Kailāsa" - its upper portion is "completely surrounded by excellent snow mountains."

Bernbaum (1986:110-113, 137) extensively discusses the textual and interpretive problems of Śrī Kālacakra I.150cd. He rightly points out that the text of the Peking edition of the Tibetan translation is disordered here. However, this had no effect on mKhas grub's interpretation because the Peking Kanjur was not redacted until long after his death, and in any case mKhas grub's text did not have this corruption. The Sanskrit of this passage is ambiguous; forced to chose between Bu ston's and mKhas grub's interpretations I would opt for the latter because of the contents of the next verse.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.151

On the earth that Kailāsa section, together with the snow mountains, is an entire third part; also, each petal outside is adorned with day-maker sun (12) lands and districts. In the right half is the abode of excellent sages known as Sambhala, inhabited by ten million villages. A land is composed of ten million villages; one hundred thousand villages makes up a district.//

(U 153) ["On the earth that Kailāsa section, together with the snow mountains, is an entire third part" of twenty-five thousand leagues. "Also, each" of the eight "petals outside" of that "is adorned with day-maker sun (12) lands," i.e., twelve lands, "and districts," i.e., one hundred thousand villages.

"In the right half" of that, north of the Śītā River, "is the abode of excellent sages" - the noble men, the Kalkīs and so forth - the land that is "known as Sambhala"; it "is inhabited by ten million villages."

Regarding the measurement of that land: "A land is composed of ten million villages; one hundred thousand villages make up a district (maṇḍalam; rgyal khams)," or prefecture (dvīpadeśa; gling gi yul). (For the preceding annotations see: Padmini 65/3/6-65/4/2.)]

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As mentioned in the notes to the preceding verse, mKhas grub rejects Padminī's interpretation (followed by Bu ston) of Śrī Kālacakra I.150c-151a. In his commentary to the present verse, (TC 1078/1-1079/1) mKhas grub elaborates his own view by saying that the "third part" in pāda a refers only to the pericarp of Kailāsa, i.e., Kalāpa and environs, that is one third the breadth of the entire lotus. This aside, his explanation of the rest of the verse concurs with Bu ston, i.e., Padminī. mKhas grub takes savyārddhe - "in the right half" - in pāda c as meaning "in the western half." Elsewhere in the Vimalaprabhā savya as a direction indicates the south, which is the usual usage. Cf. the notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.165d.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.152

Differentiated by the divisions one, two, three, ocean (4), by the divisions arrow (5), taste (6), sage (7), five plus world (3), and so forth, the lord of men Cakrī circles on the surface of the earth; the wise should search for him. Cakrī, a possessor of one-half, a possessor of a section, and seal (6) hand (2) lords of the land other than that; outside the divisions of time definitely occur, just like those of the protector of the world.//

[(1) Padminī (65/4/2-65/5/4) says: Regarding the way the Wheel of Dharma circles in those (sections): "Differentiated by" the nature of nondual gnosis - "the division one"; the parts of method and wisdom - "two"; the Body, Speech, and Mind Vajras - "three"; with the Gnosis Vajra they are "ocean," i.e., four; "by the divisions" of the five pure aggregates - "arrow," five; together with the gnosis aggregate they are "taste," six; in accordance with (the reading) 'arrow arrow,' (the second 'arrow,' i.e., 5, refers to) the five families of the five pure aggregates; the "sage," or person who has conquered (*vijana; rnam par rgyal ba) the four devils, or is born from (*vijana; rnam par skye pa) gnosis, is the families of the Buddhas; "five plus world," i.e., the three

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families (rigs); "and so forth, the lord of men Cakrī"- Buddha - "circles on the surface of the earth" - the twelve sections - for the sake of sentient beings. (N.B.: The annotations on "arrow arrow...and so forth," do not appear in Padminī.) "The wise" pandit "should search for him" in order to obtain the mahāmudrā siddhi.

Regarding the Bhagavān's help to sentient beings after he has taken the names of Viṣṇu: "Cakrī, a possessor of one-half, a possessor of a section, a lord of the land" called "Having the Hand of a Mudrā," "and other than those" also benefit sentient beings using the names of Viṣṇu. "Outside the divisions of time" - one year, the two passages, and so forth - "definitely occur, just like those of the protector of the world" - just as the Buddha benefits sentient beings by the division one, two, and so forth.

(2) The followers of Rwa explain it like this: The Buddha takes up the visage of a king and circles in the twelve sections, in "one" and so forth, the Kali, Deuce, Trey, and Complete ages. The cakrī - the master of four continents; the possessor of one-half - the master of two continents; the possessor of a section - the master of one continent; and others different than those - the masters of lands who bear their own royal insignias, arise outside due to the divisions of the four ages (cf. Abhidharmakośa

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3.95-96). Just so, the Emanation Body of the Buddha also turns the Wheel of Dharma in the twelve continent-sections.]

As in the preceding two verses, mKhas grub rejects others' views (TC 1082/6-1087/5), including some of those of Padminī and the Rwa tradition recounted by Bu ston above, and presents his own interpretation (TC 1087/5-1088/4).

In his commentary on pādas a & b, mKhas grub again rejects Padminī's identification of Cakrī with Kālacakra, as previously stated in his comment on verse 150. He continues with some anonymous opinions that would make "Cakrī" into more than one person - this he rejects. mKhas grub's own opinion is that Cakrī is differentiated here by way of the twelve regions of the earth in which he will destroy the barbarians.

For pādas c & d mKhas grub rejects Padminī's view that those having the names of Viṣṇu are Bhagavān Kālacakra, as above. He continues with two anonymous interpretations, and then a more extensive and somewhat different account of the Rwa position outlined by Bu ston above. mKhas grub's own view is that Cakrī destroys the barbarians and establishes the Dharma on all twelve continents of Great Jambūdvīpa. Cakrī's sons Brahmā and Sureśa (see below Śrī Kālacakra I.165 ff.) will each

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control one-half of this continent, Small Jambūdvīpa; thus, they will be "possessors of one-half." Brahmā's son Kāśyapa (Śrī Kālacakra I.168) and his descendants will only control one section of the six sections of Small Jambūdvīpa, i.e., Sambhala; thus, they will be "possessors of a section." mKhas grub explains the difficult expression mudrahastaḥ (phyag rgya [']i] lag pa) in pāda c as meaning "seal (6) plus (2)," i.e., eight. These eight "lords of the land" are the possessors of a section "other than" Kāśyapa; i.e., his eight descendants having the names of Viṣṇu's incarnations (see next verse). I have followed mKhas grub's explanation of pāda c in my translation because, as mKhas grub points out (TC 1088/4), the other explanations do not handle the terms khaṇḍī (dum bu can) and mudrahastaḥ very convincingly. (It should be noted, however, that mKhas grub's reading of mudrahastaḥ as a number-symbol differs from the standard way of reading such symbols.) See also the annotations to the next verse.

mKhas grub concludes his discussion of this verse by stating that the four ages of Cakrī's doctrine, the Complete age and so forth, will definitely occur in sequence on the surface of the earth outside of Sambhala, just as the four ages of the doctrine of the protector of the world - the Buddha - occur in sequence.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.153

The seven rays, mountain (7), weekday (7), sage (7), and here exactly so, have a divine birthplace endowed with sattva. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha together with Narahari (Narasiṃha), Vāmana, Yāmadagni (Paraśurāma), Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa - thus eight - give terror to the families of demons; they have an animal birthplace due to rajas. Cakrapāṇi (Raudra Cakrī), the foe of the demons, whose lifespan will be a hundred years, will appear at the end of thirty-two reigns.//

[Regarding (the Buddha's) display of emanations concurring with the ideas of the heterodox in order to tame them: "The seven rays" - sages, "the mountain (7) weekdays," i.e., the seven weekdays, and the seven "sages, here also have a birthplace" of the families "of the gods endowed with sattva," have a virtuous nature.

The Buddha's emanations that have names similar to the incarnations of Viṣṇu are: "Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha together with Narahari, Vāmana, Yamadagni's" son Paraśurāma (ra ma dgra sta 'dzin), "Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa - thus eight - give terror to the families of demons"- barbarians; "they have a ghostly" demonic "birthplace," they are produced "by rajas" - a thought that is virtue and nonvirtue mixed.

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Mañjuśrī's emanation "Cakrapāṇi, the foe of the demons" - the barbarians, "whose lifespan will be a hundred years, will appear at the end of thirty-two reigns" of bodhisattvas and wrathful kings; he will destroy the barbarians. (The preceding notes are adapted from Padminī 65/5/4-66/1/1.) (Note: Padminī (65/5/7), like the Rwa tradition given below, reads "twenty-two" in pāda d, contra all MSS and other translations.)

In the view of the Rwa tradition, (this verse) explains the way the outsiders' teachers originate. The seven teachers Marīci and so forth (cf. Apte 492 s.v. ṛṣiḥ, 1626 s.v. saptarṣi), and the seven weekdays, i.e., the fourteen sages, have a divine birthplace. The eight, Matsya and so forth, have a ghostly birthplace. At the end of those twenty-two (sic), during the period of one hundred-year lifespans, Cakrapāṇi Viṣṇu will appear.]

mKhas grub (TC 1088/4-1091/4) follows the pattern set in his commentary to the previous verses. He finds Padminī's assertion that the Buddha's emanations could have thoughts that are a mixture of virtue and nonvirtue to be outrageous. He also notes that Padminī has not dealt with the "exactly so" (tathā; de bzhin) in pāda a. mKhas grub also presents the Rwa position Bu ston gave us, in virtually identical terms. He does not bother to refute it.

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mKhas grub's own view is as follows: The "seven" Dharma Kings, Sucandra and so forth, emit the "rays" of the noble Dharma. Then (come) the "mountain," i.e., seven, Kalkīs, Mañjuśrī Yaśas and so forth; then "weekday," i.e., seven, more; then "sage," i.e., seven, more. After the third group of seven Kalkīs, there is one other group of seven, "here, exactly so": after the twenty-first Kalkī (Aniruddha), there are four more Kalkīs up to and including Raudra Cakrī. These four, together with Brahmā, Sureśa, and Kāśyapa, make up the last group of seven. Thus, these thirty-five Kings and Kalkīs have a transcendental, "divine birthplace endowed with sattva."

After them, in sequence, come the eight "possessors of a section," the "seal (6) plus hand (2) masters of the land other than that" discussed above under Śrī Kālacakra I.152c. The "eight" having the names "Matsya" and so forth "give terror to the families of demons"- barbarians, "they have an animal" - human - "birthplace due to" the quality "rajas." (Note: I take it that mKhas grub means they 'have the names' of Viṣṇu's incarnations, but are not identical to them. Also, mKhas grub's gloss on bhūta- ('byung po'i-) in pāda c as meaning "human" (mi) differs from the other commentators.)

mKhas grub continues: "Cakrapāṇi, the foe of the demon" barbarians, "whose lifespan will be a hundred

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years, will appear at the end of thirty-two reigns" - this will be the last reign of thirty-two, of the seven Dharma Kings and the twenty-five Kalkīs. For the expression "hundred years" (śatāyuḥ) see the notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.25.

Hoffmann (1969:54-56) has edited and translated this verse; he inexplicably numbers it "151."

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Adam, Enoch, and Abraham; there are also five others endowed with tamas in the family of demonic snakes: Moses, Jesus, the White-Clad One, Muhammad, and Mathanī, who is the eighth - he will belong to the darkness. The seventh will clearly be born in the city of Baghdad in the land of Mecca, where the mighty, merciless idol of the barbarians, the demonic incarnation, lives in the world.//

My translation of this verse is a synthesis of various glosses taken from Padminī, Bu ston, mKhas grub, and Hoffmann. Because of the importance of this verse, I will translate in full the texts of the commentaries I used. Then I will discuss the translation point by point.

Padminī

Text of Padminī: /kla klo'i chos sus dar bar byed ce na/ (pāda a:) phyed dang rlabs min phag pa lha min dang ni lag 'gro'i (Derge: lo yi; Peking: lo'i) rigs ni gzhan rnams mun pa lnga/ (b) byi ba 'di dang dkar po'i gos can sbrang bdag sprul pa gang zhig brgyad pa de ni long ba yin/ (c) gsal bar ma ga'i yul gyi ngag sbyin la sogs grong khyer du ni bdun pa yang dag 'gyur/ zhes bya ba ni/ mu stegs pa'i ming 'di dag la sogs pa rnams kyis lha ma yin gyi chos 'di dar bar byed do/ 'di rnams kyi nang du dkar

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po'i gos can zhes bya ba ni ma ha ma ya na (Peking: ma ham ya) yin te/ des ma ga'i yul la sogs pa'i grong khyer du lha ma yin la sogs pa'i chos dar bar byed ces bya ba'o/ yul de ji lta bu yin zhe na/ (d) gang du 'jig rten lha min rigs dang stobs ldan snying rje dang bral kla klo'i rnam pa yin/ zhes bya ba'o/ (Padminī: Peking 65/1/1-4; Derge rGyud NA p. 270/4-6, f. 135b/4-6.)

Translation of Padminī: Should you ask, "Who will propagate the barbarian dharma?": (a) "Adam (phyed), Enoch (rlabs min), Abraham (phag pa) are demons, and the others are in the family of snakes - these are the five darknesses (mun pa). (b) This Moses (byi ba) and the White-Clad One (dkar po'i gos can); the eighth who is an emanation of Muhammad (sbrang bdag) is blind (long ba). (c) The seventh will clearly occur in the cities of Baghdad and so forth (ngag sbyin la sogs) of the land of Mecca (ma ga)." This shows that this demonic dharma will be propagated by those having these and other heterodox names.

It is said, "Among these, the so-called 'White-Clad One' is Muhammad (Skt. *mahāmāyin, "The Great Deceiver"); he will propagate the demon and other dharmas in the cities of the land of Mecca (ma ga) and so forth.

Should you ask, "What sort of land is that?": It says, (d) "It is where the mighty, merciless image of the

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barbarians, who possesses the families of demons, is in the world."

Translation of Bu ston's Annotations

[Regarding the way the teachers who will propagate the barbarian dharma will appear: (1) "Adam" (ā dra) is called 'half' (phyed), (or) 'soul' (*shed po; orig. reads shid po); (2) "Enoch" (a no gha) is called 'without illness' (nad med), (or) 'no-flow' (rlabs min); and (3) "Abraham" (phag ldan) - these are the three from the family of "demons."

"There are also five" individuals "other" than those "endowed with" - born from - "tamas in the family of snakes" - nagas - : (4) "Moses" (byi ba); (5) "Jesus" (dbang po); (6) "the White-Clad One" (gos dkar can); (7) "Muhammad" (sbrang rtsi'i blo gros); and "Mathanī" ('joms byed) "who is the eighth"; those five "who" are born from a birthplace of "darkness."

"The seventh" of these barbarians - Padminī explains this as being the White-Clad One, but here it is Muhammad - "will clearly," i.e., definitely, "be born in the cities of Baghdad and so forth" (bā ga dā sogs), i.e., 'speech-giver' (ngag sbyin pa), "of the land of Mecca" (ma kha),

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i.e., of the Muslims (sog po).[1] He will propagate the barbarian dharma.

Regarding the land of Muhammad: It is the land "where the hordes of demons" - the side of the devils- "dwell powerfully" in "the world," and (where) "the idol," i.e., the image or nature, "of the barbarians, who is merciless" to sentient beings is.]

Translation of mKhas grub's Commentary (TC 1091/4-1093/2)

An explanation of the way the teachers of the barbarians, who are to be destroyed, originate, and the customs of the barbarians. (Note: The customs will be treated under Śrī Kālacakra I. 155.)

Well, you might ask: "How will the teachers of the barbarians originate, and what is the place and the customs of the barbarians who follow them?"

Others say that the three: (1) "Adam" (ā dra)- 'half' (phyed), or 'soul' (gshed po); (2) "Enoch" (a no gha) - called 'no-flow' (rlabs min), or 'without sickness' (nad med); and (3) "Abraham" (phag ldan), are differentiated as belonging to the family of demons, and that the remaining five belong to the family of snakes. This is not felicitous because it does not accord with the

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[1] For my translation of sog po by "Muslim" see the note to Vimalaprabhā I.9.26b above.

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statement that appears again and again in this tantra and commentary: "The entire family of barbarians belong to the family of demons." Therefore, one should combine them into one, "the family of demonic snakes." The word also (api; yang) in the statement: "Not only those three, five will also appear, other than those three, in the family of demonic snakes, whose family is endowed with a birthplace of tamas," shows that the three are also of the family of demonic snakes and are endowed with a birthplace of tamas. (N.B.: I follow mKhas grub on the points raised in this paragraph; his explanation accords nicely with the grammar of the Sanskrit.)

You might also ask: "Who are those five?": (4) "Moses" (byi ba); (5) "Jesus" (dbang po); (6) "the White-Clad One" (gos dkar can); (7) "Muhammad" (sbrang rtsi'i blo gros); and (8) "Mathanī" ('joms byed) - he is the eighth. These eight possess a birthplace of darkness. In the Rwa translation 'Joms byed appears as "'Khrug byed"; and in (place of) this "they possess darkness," Padminī and Ga rong lo tstsha ba read "that eighth is blind."

Clearly, i.e., definitely, the seventh of the barbarian teachers, Muhammad, will be born in the cities of Baghdad (bāg dā) and so forth of the land of Mecca (ma kha), i.e., the land of the Muslims (sog po). He, the incarnation of al-Rahman (rahma ṇa'i 'jug pa), will

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propagate the barbarian dharma. Padminī says the seventh is the White-Clad One; this forgets its own immediately preceding enumeration (of the White-Clad One) as the sixth, and contradicts the Vimalaprabhā.

"Bāg dā" (Baghdad) appears in Padminī and so forth as "Ngag sbyin"; if one reads it that way it gives rise to "Bāg dā ḍi." Some say: "It is the land of the Muslims (sog po) in western India called 'Ḍi ḍi' or 'Ḍi li' (i.e., Delhi)." Those barbarians live there in their land where the mighty division, i.e., retinue, of demons, the party of devils is, and (where those) who possess the form, or costume, of the barbarians who are merciless to sentient beings are. Padminī has 'image' (rnam pa) for "form" (gzugs), and some explain it as 'nature' (rang bzhin).

Discussion of Śrī Kālacakra I.154

The following discussion presupposes that the reader has carefully studied Helmut H.R. Hoffmann's "Kālacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra" (Hoffmann 1969). On pages 56-60 of that article Hoffmann has edited and translated the Sanskrit and Tibetan of Śrī Kālacakra I.154.[2] Hoffmann's essay is a tour de force of philological and historical

[2] Hoffmann inexplicably (and erroneously) refers to this verse as number 152.

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scholarship; his retrograde derivations of the Arabic from the Sanskrit and Tibetan are brilliant. The following notes are supplemental to Hoffmann's study.

Adam

Sanskrit forms:[3] Über: ardho; Śrī Kālacakra (S1): adro, ārdă; Hoffmann (1969): ārddho, ārdho; Śrī Kālacakra (ST): ādau [emendation: ardo]; Śrī Kālacakra (S): ārdho, adro. (Final -o reverts to -aḥ out of saṃdhi, producing ardhaḥ, etc.)

Tibetan transliterations: Bu & TC: ā dra (Indic: *ādra); Shong: ar do (*ardaḥ).

Tibetan translations: Padminī, repeated by Bu & TC: phyed (*ardha or *arddha); Bu & TC: shid po or gshed po. In the text of Bu ston's annotations the note shid po looks like it should apply to the second barbarian teacher, and Hoffmann (1969:59) takes it that way. However, mKhas grub writes: "Adam (ā dra) - 'half' (phyed), or 'soul' (gshed po)"; ā dra zhes pa phyed dam gshed po (TC 1091/5). I assume Bu ston's note is both corrupt and misplaced - the original probably read "shed

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[3] As reported in: Über 210, Śrī Kālacakra (S1) I.153, Hoffmann (1969:56), Śrī Kālacakra (ST) I.154 (pp. 37/6-38/2; ff. 19a/6-19b/2), and Śrī Kālacakra (S) I.153 (I give no notice of obvious corruptions). Banerjee, Vira and Chandra, and Hoffmann sometimes derive different readings from the same manuscripts.

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po" or "gshed po" and was intended to gloss the name of the first barbarian teacher rather than the second. I have not located the forms shed po or gshed po in any dictionary, but DAS 1242 gives ātma as an equivalent for both shed bdag and shed bu. (Cf. DAS 1250: gshed ldan = adhama "the vile one.")

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:59) postulates a retrograde derivation: Sanskrit ārddho < Middle Indic *addho < accusative *addham < Muslim "Adam."

Enoch (or Noah)

Sanskrit forms: Über: 'nogho; Śrī Kālacakra (S1): 'mogho; mogho; Hoffmann: 'nogho; Śrī Kālacakra (ST): nogho [emendation: 'mogho]; Śrī Kālacakra (S): 'nogho, 'mogho.

Tibetan transliteration: (all reports): a no gha.

Tibetan translations: Padminī, Bu & TC: rlabs min (*anogha < an + oghaḥ); Bu & TC: nad med (*aroga). For Bu's "shid po" see previous discussion.

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:59) interprets anogha as an "Indian adaptation of the name of the prophet Henoch"; this is most likely the case. He sees the Tibetan gloss nad med, "without sickness," as referring to the tradition that Enoch never died. This is plausible, but I think it more likely that nad med developed as a translation of a corrupt manuscript that read "aroga."

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Another possible interpretation not considered by Hoffmann is: nogho = noghaḥ < Indic pronunciation of "Noah."

Abraham

Sanskrit forms: all reports: varāhī.

Tibetan translations: Padminī: phag pa; Shong, Bu & TC: phag ldan.

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:58-59) takes this as a retrograde derivation varāhī = barāhī (MSS do not distinguish va and ba) < accusative barāhīm = Arabic ibrāhīm, "Abraham."

Moses and Jesus

Sanskrit forms: all MSS corrupt; mleccho 'sau most common report.

Tibetan translations: Padminī: byi ba 'di (*mūṣo 'sau); Shong, Bu & TC: byi ba [dang] dbang po.

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:58) convincingly restores a dual dvandva *mūṣeśau from the Tibetan translation of Bu. This produces mūṣa and īśa, Indic pronunciations of the Arabic names of Moses and Jesus. (Note that corruption of the manuscript tradition had already set in by the second half of the 11th century, when Somanātha translated Padminī.)

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The White-Clad One

Sanskrit forms: all sources: śvetavastrī.

Tibetan translations: Padminī: dkar po'i gos can; Shong, Bu & TC: gos dkar can.

Interpretation: Hoffmann says: "When we have got a general view of the whole list [of barbarians in Śrī Kālacakra I.154], it will prove very probable that Śvetavastrin means Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, with whose doctrine the Buddhists of the North-west certainly had some communication" (1969:57; cf. 58, 59, 67). In one of his later publications Hoffmann simply asserts this identification as a fact (1975:142), and elsewhere he discerns possible Manichaean influence on the Kālacakra, and indeed on the entire Vajrayāna (1956:41; 1961:52). This has led some scholars to believe there are actual Manichaean elements in the Kālacakra. In fact, one scholar goes so far as to assert that "Manichaeism was to appear [in Tibet] at the beginning of the eleventh century in the Kālacakra-tantra, this time with Indian-based terminology" (Boin-Webb 1983:57; cf. Ries 1986:119 [n. 48]).

I disagree with Hoffmann on this identification for two reasons, one logical and the other material.

First is the principle of simplicity. If we assume that Mani is indicated by the epithet "white-clad one,"

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then we must also assume that the author of this verse both knew something about Mani, and associated him with the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition. From the title of Hoffmann's article, "Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra," it is clear that he makes these assumptions (cf. 1969:59-60). It is also apparent that this identification of svetavastrī with Mani forms one of the keystones in Hoffmann's theory that the Kālacakra originated outside of India, "in the far northwest" where Buddhism could come into contact with Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam (Hoffmann 1969:53; 1973:136; 1975:142).

I have found no reference to any non-Indian religious tradition in the Kālacakra literature, except Islam. In fact, one could accurately substitute "Muslim" for mleccha[4] and "Islam" for mlecchadharma throughout the Kālacakra corpus. We find references to Islamic practices such as Rahmadan, washing before the five daily prayers, circumcision, and iconoclasm, and Muslim dietary laws and ethics. We are told the name of their guru and swami-Muhammad, and the names of their deity - Allah and al-Rahman. We are even give a summary of Islamic theology.

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[4] The only exception being when mleccha is used in the sense of "one who speaks barbarously."

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But nowhere do we find mention of barbarians or barbarian practices that are not obviously Islamic.[5]

To return to the point, if we assume svetavastrī does not refer to Mani, and temporarily set it aside, the entire list of mlecchas can easily be derived from Muslim sources. Adam, Enoch (or Noah), Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, not to mention Muhammad, are all revered in the Koran and by later Islamic tradition. (Mathanī will be considered below.) This explanation is certainly simpler than Hoffmann's theory: given the Muslims' long, harsh persecution of the Manichaeans, it is hard to imagine who in the ancient world would have seen Mani and Muhammad as belonging to the same religious tradition.

My second objection to Hoffmann's hypothesis is based on information that Hoffmann was unaware of. Śrī Kālacakra II.99c reads: raktaṃ śvetaṃ ca vastraṃ... In Vimalaprabhā II.5.99c we find the following comment: paridhānaṃ yathā saṃkhyaṃ raktavastraṃ bauddhānāṃ śvetaṃ mlecchānāṃ tapasvināṃ gṛhastānāṃ na niyamaḥ (MS B 79a/4). bgo ba ni/ grangs bzhin du sangs rgyas pa rnams kyi gos dmar po ste/ kla klo rnams kyi ni/ dkar po'o/ [de rnams

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[5] I have collected the references to Islam appearing in the Kālacakra literature, and plan to publish an article containing the relevant texts.

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kyang] dka' thub pa rnams kyi ste/ khyim pa rnams kyi ni nges pa med do/ (Bu 2.145/6-7).

"With regard to clothing, according to sequence, Buddhists (wear) red cloth; barbarians, white. [And those] are for ascetics; for householders there is no rule."

Also, Śrī Kālacakra II.158cd[6] reads:

kartrā sṛṣṭaṃ samastaṃ sacaram acarajaṃ tāyināṃ bhuktihetoḥ

svargas tasya pratoṣād bhavati khalu nṛṇāṃ deśanā rahmaṇaḥ sā//

"The creator creates all mobile and immobile things. He is the cause of the Tajiks' experiences; men who please him certainly obtain heaven. That is the doctrine of al-Rahman."

Vimalaprabhā II.7.164cd comments:

idānīṃ mlecchatāyināṃ matam ucyate kartretyādi iha kartrā rahmaṇā sṛṣṭaṃ samastaṃ sacaraṃ jaṅgamaṃ acaraṃ sthāvaraṃ vastu tāyināṃ iti mlecchānāṃ śvetavāstrinaṃ (MS:

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[6] Note: The text given below is my edition based on the readings in Śrī Kālacakra (S), (S1), and (ST) [f.39b/4-5, p.78/4-5]. This is II.164cd in all three printed editions of the Śrī Kālacakra. Verses II.116-121 in the printed editions are clearly a late interpolation. Banerjee (Śrī Kālacakra (S) p. 72) notes that they do not appear in his two best MSS, nor in the Peking, sDe dge, or sNar thang editions of the Tibetan translation. They are also absent from Bu ston's edition of the Śrī Kālacakra. Most significantly, these verses are not commented on in MS B of the Vimalaprabhā.

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śvetavāsināṃ) bhuktihetoḥ svargas tasya rahmaṇaḥ pratoṣāt apratoṣān narako bhavati khalu nṛṇāṃ deśanā rahmaṇaḥ sā purvoktā kriyeti tāyināṃ mataniyamaḥ (MS B 90a/4-5).
da ni [sog po rā ma ṇa (read: rahma ṇa) dang] kla klo stag gzig rnams kyi 'dod pa gsungs pa/ byed po zhes pa la sogs pa ste/ 'dir byed po rahma ṇas rgyu ba g.yo ba dang mi rgyu ba brtan pa'i dngos po mtha' dag skyed cing stag gzig rnams kyi zhes pa kla klo gos dkar po can rnams kyi thar pa dag gi rgyu/ [byed pa po] rahma ṇaḥ de mnyes pa las nges par mi rnams mtho ris dang/ ma mnyes pa las dmyal bar 'gyur ro zhes pa de ni rahmaḥ'i (read: rahma ṇaḥ'i) bstan pa ste/ bya ba ni [ye shes skye ba la sogs pa'i dus skabs su] sngar brjod pa'o// stag gzig gi 'dod pa nges pa'o// (Bu 2.203/2-4).

"Now are stated the beliefs of [the Muslim followers of al-Rahman and] the barbarian Tajiks, 'the creator' and so forth. Here, the creator al-Rahman creates all mobile - animate, and immobile - inanimate, things. By pleasing that al-Rahman, the cause of the experiences of the 'Tajiks' - the white-clad barbarians, men certainly obtain heaven; by not pleasing him they obtain hell. That is the doctrine of al-Rahman; their practices were stated above [in the discussion of the time of the arising of gnosis and so forth (i.e., Śrī Kālacakra II.98 ff.)]. This is the precept on the beliefs of the Tajiks."

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The "white-clad barbarians" described here are probably Sufis. This hypothesis is buttressed by the Vimalaprabhā's specification that just as Buddhist ascetics (i.e., monks and nuns) wear red, so the barbarian ascetics wear white; however, this does not apply to the lay followers of the respective religions. Lawrence (1978:19) says: "It was the invading Turkish armies from Central Asia that brought Sufism to India around 1200 A.D." Since the Vimalaprabhā was written around 1000, these apparent references to Sufism are very interesting. The information on Islam in the early Kālacakra literature is surprisingly detailed and basically sound. It seems likely that the author(s) of these texts had direct contact with Muslims, perhaps in Central Asia. (For background on this see Richards 1974:99-101.)

Hoffmann's theory that svetavastrī in Śrī Kālacakra I.154 refers to Mani can now be laid to rest.[7] The identity of svetavastrī should be searched for within

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[7] Hoffmann (1969:66-67) also discerns the name Mani in a passage found in the mKhas pa'i dga' ston of dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba. In notes 44 and 49 he discounts the reading dha ma ṇa'i appearing Lokesh Chandra's edition of the text, and adopts the reading ma ṇa'i. Hoffmann supposes this to be a reference to Mani. In fact, dha ma ṇa and ma ṇa are both corruptions of rahma ṇa, "al-Rahman" (cf. p. 65 of Hoffmann's article). Dha ma ṇa is closer to the correct reading, but in any case there is no need to bring in Mani here. dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba's account is merely a compilation of information drawn from the Kālacakra texts in the Kanjur and Tanjur.

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Islamic, and perhaps specifically Sufi, traditions. "The White-clad One" appears in the verse between Jesus and Muhammad. Although further research is needed to decide this point, svetavastrī may be a reference to the Angel Gabriel, who revealed the Koran to Muhammad.

Muhammad

Sanskrit forms: all sources: madhupati (Hoffmann's madhumati is an emendation).

Tibetan transliterations: Padminī: (Derge) ma ha ma ya na, (Peking) ma ham ya. (I postulate a Sanskrit original *mahāmāyin underlying this transliteration. Cf. Bhaviṣya Purāṇa 3.3.3.11a cited by Hoffmann [1969:68].)

Tibetan translations: Padminī: sbrang bdag; Shong: sbrang rtsi ldan pa; Bu & TC: sbrang rtsi'i blo gros.

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:57) believes that the reading madhupati is "wrong" because of the Tibetan translation sbrang rtsi'i blo gros. He proposes a derivation as follows: Middle Indic pronunciation *mahumati < madhumati < Mohammed.

The reading of all the MSS, madhupati, is in any case very old because it is obviously the basis of Padminī's translation sbrang bdag. However, a form that is probably closer to the original language pronunciation is the madhumatī found in Vimalaprabhā I.9.27a (see above). It

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is difficult to know whether Shong, Bu, and TC found the reading madhumati in their MSS, or simply applied the translation they used for the occurrence of this name in the Vimalaprabhā here as well. Shong's sbrang rtsi ldan pa takes madhumatī as a possessive in -mant declined in the feminine: "possessing honey." Bu & TC's sbrang rtsi'i blo gros gloss madhumatī as a tatpuruṣa: "honeyed intellect." I prefer to take madhu in the sense of "liquor," and gloss the compound as madhu + mata + -in: "possessing thoughts of liquor," or simply "The Wino." I think this retains a pejorative sense that was intended. (Compare Hoffmann's notice of the epithet/transliteration mahāmada, "he whose madness is great," applied to Muhammad in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa [Hoffmann 1969:68-69].)

Mathanī, who is the eighth

Sanskrit forms: Über, Hoffmann, Śrī Kālacakra (S): mathanīyo; Śrī Kālacakra (S1): mathanī; Śrī Kālacakra (ST): ambiguous.

Tibetan translations: Rwa: 'khrug byed; Shong, Bu & TC: 'joms byed.

Interpretation: Hoffmann (1969:57, 60) reads mathanīyaḥ as a gerundive in -anīya. The Tibetan suffix byed is indeed used to translate gerundives, but it is also used to form agent nouns. I take 'joms byed (or

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'khrug byed) in the latter sense, and break the Sanskrit as: mathanī yo 'ṣṭamaḥ so 'ndhakaḥ syāt ('joms byed brgyad pa gang de mun pa can), "Mathanī, who is the eighth - he will belong to the darkness." This accords with the Tibetan translation, which takes yo and so as correlatives (gang de).

Fenner (1979:93-94, 262) attributes to Hoffmann the theory that "Mathaniya (sic) is the Mahdi." This does not appear in Hoffmann's article where Fenner says it does (Hoffmann 1969:58), nor have I found it anywhere else in Hoffmann's publications. Nevertheless, it is well worth considering. It is possible that Mathanī, "the Destroyer," is an epithet/transliteration of Mahdi, and that his "belonging to the darkness" is a reference to the doctrine of the occultation of the Mahdi.

Mathanī appears to be another name for Kṛnmatī, the lord of the barbarians who will be destroyed by Raudra Cakrī at the end of the Kali Age: cf. Śrī Kālacakra I.163d below; Śrī Kālacakra II.48-50, Vimalaprabhā II.3.48-50; and Vimalaprabhā V.3 (Bu 3.220/5-201/3).

The seventh

Hoffmann misunderstood Bu ston's annotation on this, and wrongly attributed a blunder to him. Compare Hoffmann

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(1969:57 [n. 16]) with Padminī, Bu ston, and mKhas grub translated above.

The city of Baghdad in the land of Mecca

Baghdad. Sanskrit forms: Über, Hoffmann: bāgadādau; Śrī Kālacakra (S1), Śri Kālacakra (S), Śrī Kālacakra (ST): vāgadādau (MSS do not distinguish ba and va).

Tibetan transliterations: Shong: bā ga da sogs; Bu: bā ga dā sogs; TC: bāg dā sogs.

Tibetan translation: Padminī, Bu, TC: ngag sbyin la sogs (TC: ngag sbyin la sogs > *bāgadāḍi).

Mecca. Sanskrit forms: all sources: makha.

Tibetan transliterations: Padmini: ma ga; Shong, Bu, TC: ma kha.

Interpretation: As noted by Hoffmann (1969:60) there is some confusion of geography in the text. Muhammad was not born in the city of Baghdad, which in any case was not founded until 31 July 762 (Neugebauer 1975:8). And of course Baghdad is not "a city in the land of Mecca."

By the time this verse was written the splendor of the early 'Abbasid Caliphate was gone, but independent sultans like Mahmūd of Ghaznī still paid lip service to the Caliph at Baghdad. It is easily understandable that a writer in 11th century India, just beyond the fringes of the Muslim conquests, could have made Mecca (the

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birthplace of Muhammad and Islam's holiest city) into a country, and then placed in it Baghdad - the political center of the Islamic world.

Padminī, Shong, Bu, and TC break bāgadādau into bāgadă + ādi. I take it as a single word, bāgadādi undeclined (cf. Hoffmann 1969:60).

Bu ston and mKhas grub gloss Mecca as "the land of the Muslims" (sog po'i yul; cf. the note to Vimalaprabhā I.9.26b above). mKhas grub reports an opinion that identifies Mecca as "the land of the Muslims in western India called 'Ḍiḍi' or 'Ḍili'." Later Tibetan writers repeat this (cf. Hoffmann 1969:66-67 [n. 47]; Newman 1985:78), which is not surprising given the importance of the Delhi Sultanate throughout the period they were writing. The Tibetans follow Indian tradition in placing Mecca in India because the Tantrahṛdaya appears to do so: ma kha las sogs 'phags pa'i yul (Peking #5; vol. 1, 180/3/7). Cf. Reigle (1986:13-14).

Where the mighty, merciless idol...

Shong and Bu take pāda d as consisting of two independent clauses, their subjects being "hordes" and "the idol" respectively. mKhas grub does something similar. Padminī is ambiguous, but could be read as

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taking the entire pāda with a single subject, mūrtiḥ, which I do.

I adopt the reading asurāṃśī in this pāda, following Śrī Kālacakra (S1), (ST), and some of the variants in Śrī Kālacakra (S) and Hoffmann. I interpret asurāṃśī as "demonic incarnation" following Apte 1-2, s.v. aṃśi.

For mūrtiḥ we are offered the Tibetan translations gzugs, rnam pa, and rang bzhin. I opt for the former as an abbreviation of gzugs brnyan = sku 'dra, "idol" (cf. Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo 2502).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.155

They kill camels, horses, and cattle, and cook the flesh together with blood for just a bit. They cook beef and amniotic fluid with butter and spice, and rice mixed with vegetables, all at once on the fire. Where the men eat that together with forest fruit, O master of men, and where they drink birds' eggs, that is the place of the demons.//

[(Bu ston's annotations:) Regarding the behavior of the people of that land: "They kill camels, horses, and cattle, and cook the flesh together with the blood for just a bit. They cook beef, quicksilver (dngul chu)" and water "with butter and spice, and rice mixed with vegetables, all at once on the fire. Where the men eat that together with forest fruit, O master of men, and where they drink" the fluid of "bird's eggs, that" land "is the place of the demons" - the barbarians.]

Padminī (66/1/4-7), Bu ston, and mKhas grub (1093/2-5) all basically agree on the reading of this verse. However, mKhas grub tells us that Rwa translated sūtatoyam as mngal chu, "womb-water," and Ga rong lo tstsha ba translated it as bu btsas chu, "the water of childbirth" (cf. Hevajra II.iii.46b: prasūtajam; bu btsas skyes). mKhas grub says this seems to gloss the word as spri,

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which means "the milk of a female animal on the day of childbirth" (Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo 1686). I follow Ga rong's rendering here because it accords with a literal reading of the Sanskrit. Shong translates: rngul chu chu "sweat and water"; Bu ston: dngul chu [*rngul chu (orig. rnga chu) dang] chu "quicksilver [- sweat and] water"; both gloss the compound as a dvandva, but then the case ending would be wrong. (Shong's translation of sūta as "sweat" seems to be an error; I assume Bu ston's annotation rnga chu is a corruption for Shong's rngul chu.)

Hoffmann (1969:65-66) has edited and translated this verse, which he mistakenly numbers 153. Hoffmann translates sūtatoyam as "quick-silver," and thinks it might refer to alchemical practices.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.156

Drop, shakti, eye ointment, garuda, the river of the gods, Nārada, the wishing cow, a fort, lightning, good science, the unchanging supreme digit, the divine language, and the incorporeal - the Gnosis Body of the Jina manifests on the earth with these moving forms. It proclaims what occurred, what is occurring, and what will occur, and all the treatises on the Vedas, dialectics, and so forth.//

[The way the Bhagavān's emanations manifest: Should you ask, "What are the emanations?": Method/Father/"drop"; Wisdom/Mother/"shakti"; "eye ointment" that lets one see invisible objects; the lord of "garudas"; "the river of the gods" - the Gangā; the best among the sages "Nārada"; "the wishing cow"; "a fort" that the wicked cannot destroy; "lightning" that is the nature of nondual gnosis; "good science" - knowledge of the soul, emptiness that possesses the best of all aspects; bliss- "the unchanging supreme digit"; A divyabhāṣā - "the divine language" produced from the throat and palate (Bu 42), or the Speech in all aspects of the Omniscient One; "and the incorporeal" Emanation Body that is like a reflection of the moon in water.

In order to benefit sentient beings, "the Gnosis Body" [GA] - the nature of the connate, "of the Jina [KA]

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manifests on the earth [KHA]," the land of karma, "with these moving forms" - aspects or natures.

Should you wonder what it does after it has manifested, it demonstrates the meaning of "what occurred" - the past, "what is occurring" - the present, "and what will occur" - the future. Then, having awakened sentient beings, it demonstrates the heterodox "Vedas" and so forth to unfortunate people. "It proclaims all the treatises on dialectics," poetics, prosody, "and so forth" to those having sharp worldly faculties, and demonstrates the nondual gnosis to the fortunate.]

Bu ston follows Padminī (66/1/7-66/2/7), differing only in details. Among these we may note two: (1) Padminī (66/2/3) describes the Omniscient language as being separate from the letters āli and kāli that are produced from the throat and so forth; (2) Padminī (62/2/6) says that the manifestations of the Gnosis Body demonstrate the Vedas and so forth to fortunate sentient beings, using the ideas of the heterodox.

mKhas grub's exposition of this verse (TC 1093/5-1096/4) augments Padminī and Bu ston. Like Padminī and Bu ston, he glosses "drop" as Method/Father and "shakti" as Wisdom/Mother. He says the indivisible conjunction of the these two indicates the Teacher of the mūlatantra - the Ādibuddha. Then he explains "eye ointment...incorporeal"

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as metaphors for the qualities of the Mind, Speech, and Body of the Ādibuddha. "Eye ointment...lightning" express the function (byed las) of Mind, whereas "good science, the unchanging supreme" teaches the supreme unchanging bliss that possesses those functions. The sixteenth "digit" that completes the twenty-one thousand, six hundred moments of that supreme unchanging bliss is the quality of the Teacher Ādibuddha's Mind; "divine speech" indicates the quality of Speech; "incorporeal" indicates the quality of Body - the divine image of emptiness (stong pa nyid kyi gzugs) that possesses the best of all aspects, that is devoid of a body of aggregated particles.

In pāda c mKhas grub glosses "Gnosis Body" as Enjoyment Body, and says that the "moving forms" are those such as Śākyamuni.

In his explanation of pāda d mKhas grub seeks to avoid the conclusion that the tantra says that the Buddha teaches the Vedas. His attempt is an ingenious piece of apologetic, but it runs roughshod over the grammar of the Sanskrit. In any case, Vimalaprabhā I.4.1 explicitly says that the Buddha taught the doctrines of the Vedas, and Śrī Kālacakra V.49ab even has the four Vedas issuing from the four mouths of the Ādibuddha.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.157

O glorious king, Kalāpa of the renowned 'Sambhala,' surrounded in four directions by mountains, measures arrow (5) times one hundred leagues. After some days you will establish Sureśa as supreme master of men there, then you will got to your own place. There will clearly be seven masters of men in the splendid Śākya line, and the eighth will be Śrī Yaśas.//

(U 154) [Regarding the Teacher's promulgation to Vajrapāṇi: "O glorious king," is a vocative - 'O Sucandra.' Then, the palace "Kalāpa" in the place "renowned" as the land "Sambhala" is "surrounded in the four directions" of that Sambhala "by mountains," and "measures arrow (5) times one hundred leagues." This five hundred is the measure of the previously mentioned snow mountains on the circumference of Kailāsa (cf. Śrī Kālacakra I.150d & 151a). Some assert it is the measure of Sambhala; some assert it is the measure of the city of Kalāpa.

"After some days," i.e., two years after the teaching of the tantra, "you" Vajrapāṇi[8] (Sucandra) will benefit sentient beings by teaching the Dharma and so forth.

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[8] Note: This annotation is misplaced in Bu.

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Then, in order to propagate the Buddhadharma, you "will establish" the emanation of Kṣitigarbha "Sureśa as the supreme master of men there." "Then you will go to your own place" - the place your emanation first came from.

Regarding the demonstration of the way the emanated kings and Kalkīs originate: "Clearly," i.e., definitely, "seven masters of men in the splendid Śākya line" from Sucandra through Khagarbha's emanation Sureśāna will teach the Basic Tantra: [1] Sucandra, [2] Sureśa,[9] [3] Tejī, [4] Somadatta, [5] Sureśvara, [6] Viśvamūrti, [7] Sureśāna. "The eighth will be Śrī Yaśas" - he will teach the Basic Tantra to the Śākya line for one hundred years.]

Padminī (66/2/8-66/3/6) does not add much to Bu ston's annotations. It holds the view that the five hundred leagues refers to the radius of the entire land of Sambhala rather than Kalāpa alone. It also identifies Sureśāna, the seventh Dharma King, as an emanation of the fury king Padmāntaka (padma mthar byed = Mānaka according to Bhattacharyya, B. [1949:78]). This is a blunder because the Basic Tantra quoted at Vimalaprabhā I.3 clearly identifies Sureśāna as an emanation of the bodhisattva Khagarbha.

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[9] This is the form given in pāda c of the present verse; in the Basic Tantra's prophecy quoted in Vimalaprabhā I.3 he is called Sureśvara.

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mKhas grub (TC 1096/4-1097/4) mostly agrees with Bu ston. The only noticeable point of difference is that mKhas grub makes Sucandra teach the Basic Tantra, erect the Kālacakra mandala at Kalāpa, and so forth, for only one year before withdrawing his emanation body. For Sucandra's "own place" mKhas grub reports two anonymous views: (1) it is "the place of the Enjoyment Body" (Tuṣita?); (2) it is Aḍakavatī (lcang lo can). mKhas grub here repeats his opinion that the five hundred leagues refers to the radius of Kalāpa only (cf. notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.150).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.158

He shall be Śrī Mañjuvajra, saluted by the best of gods, Kalkī by means of the vajra lineage. He shall give the vajra initiation, and make all the families of sages into a single clan. Elevated on the right vehicle, giving terror to the families of demons, Śrī Yaśas, with a short spear in his hand, shall make the Kālacakra clear on earth, for the liberation of sentient beings.//

[After one hundred years this Yaśas, an emanation of "Śrī Mañjuvajra, saluted by the best of gods," will become "Kalkī of[10] the vajra lineage": [1] Yaśas, [2] Puṇḍarīka, [3] Bhadra, [4] Vijaya, [5] Sumitra, (Bu 43) [6] Raktapāṇi, [7] Viṣṇugupta, [8] Arkakīrti, [9] Subhadra, [10] Samudravijaya, [11] Aja, [12] Kalkī Sūrya, [13] Viśvarūpa, [14] Śaśiprabha, [15] Ananta, [16] Mahīpāla, [17] Śrīpāla, [18] Hari, [19] Vikrama, [20] Mahābala, [21] Aniruddha, [22] Narasiṃha, [23] Maheśvara, [24] Ananta, [25] Vijaya.[11]

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[10] Bu ston, like Padminī, reads rdo rje'i rigs kyi rigs ldan for vajragotreṇa kalkī. Shong and mKhas grub take -gotreṇa as an instrumental (rigs kyis), as I do.

[11] Note: Dividing Ananta and Vijaya into two, and counting twenty-six Kalkīs (the twenty-five listed here plus Raudra Cakrī), contradicts Bu ston's annotations to the list in the Paramādibuddha cited at Vimalaprabhā I.3, not to mention the Sanskrit of that quotation. It is possible that the text of Bu's annotations here is corrupt

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Should you ask what he will do to become (Kalkī), "He will give the vajra initiation, and make all the families of sages" - the four castes of the three hundred and fifty million sages and so forth, "into a single" vajra "clan."

The one "elevated on the right" vajra "vehicle," who has reached the tenth stage, "giving terror to the families of demons" - barbarians, is "Śrī Yaśas, with a short spear in his hand." "He shall make the Kālacakra" Abridged Tantra, that consists of one thousand and thirty verses in sragdharā metre, "clear on earth, for the liberation of sentient beings," i.e., so that they may obtain the mahāmudrā siddhi.]

Padminī's glosses (66/3/6-66/4/2) are virtually copied by Bu ston; they add nothing material to our understanding of this verse. mKhas grub (TC 1097/4-1098/1) repeats Bu ston almost verbatim.

Philological notes: Note the use of the future participle in this and subsequent prophetic passages (Śrī Kālacakra I.158bd, 159b, 160d, 161b, 162d, 163c, 164b, 165b; cf. also 26ad).

I follow the majority (Shong, Bu & TC) in rendering ājña (BHSD 90: "perfect, esoteric knowledge") in pāda c as

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or an interpolation. The issue of the number of Kalkīs is very complicated; see my notes in the addenda to Reigle (1986:13-14).

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"vehicle" (theg pa, usually translates Skt. yāna). Padminī's translation "gnosis" (ye shes, usually translates Skt. jñāna) is also good.

The word sella of the compound sellapāṇiḥ (phyag na mdung thung can), "with a short spear in his hand," in pāda c is rare. (The equivalent expression sellahastaḥ appears in Śrī Kālacakra I.159d; see below.) Sella does not appear in most of the dictionaries I have consulted (MW, Apte, BHSD). The only place I have found it is in Schmidt (1928:369): sella "Pfeil" [arrow]; sellabhṛt "arrow-bearer." DAS 674 gives mdung as equivalent to Sanskrit śakti and śūla, with the meaning of "lance, spear, pike"; it also gives mdung thung 'dzin as "an epithet of Kārtikeya youngest son of Mahādeva." Kārtikeya (Skanda or Kumāra) is usually depicted bearing a spear (śakti). It is noteworthy that Raudra Cakrī is most commonly depicted in Tibetan iconography as wielding a short spear, in addition to the obvious discus; see: Tucci (1949:598-599, plates 211-213); Fux (1969:plates 1, 2, 4, 9); Bernbaum (1980:239, plates 1 & 4).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.159

At the end of the age, among those (Kalkīs), on the orderly reckoning of twenty-five reigns, Raudra Kalkī, the lord of the gods, saluted by the best of gods, shall appear in the lineage of Kalkī. For sadhus his peaceful form shall be "the giver of bliss"; likewise, he shall annihilate the race of barbarians. Cakrī mounted on a mountain horse, with a short spear in his hand, with the radiance of the sun, shall smite all the foes.//

[The prophecy of Kalkī Raudra: The twenty-fifth (Kalkī) "at the end of the age, among those" Kalkīs, on the completion of "the orderly reckoning of twenty-five reigns" from Yaśas through to Raudra, the emanation of Mañjuśrī "Raudra Kalkī" - his name is 'Sureśa,' another name is 'Cakrī' - "saluted by the best of gods" - Brahmā, Indra, etc., "shall appear in the lineage of Kalkī" Mañjuśrī.

Regarding that Kalkī Raudra: "For sadhus his peaceful form," i.e., nature, "shall be 'the giver'" of unchanging "'bliss'; likewise, he shall annihilate," i.e., destroy, the ignoble "race of barbarians."

Should you wonder how he will do that: The emanation of Mañjuśrī "Cakrī mounted on a stone horse, with a short

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spear in his hand, with" a body having "the radiance of the sun, shall smite all the" barbarian "foes."]

Padminī (66/4/2-6) and mKhas grub (TC 1098/1-5) add little to Bu ston's annotations to this verse. Padminī agrees with Bu ston that sureśa in pāda b is a proper name for Raudra Cakrī. mKhas grub says this is a mistake; Sureśa is the name of Raudra's son (see Śrī Kālacakra I.165c, and cf. note to Śrī Kālacakra I.157c), but does not appear anywhere else as a name for Raudra himself. I follow mKhas grub on this point and translate it as an epithet, "the lord of the gods."

Padmini consistently glosses śailāśva in pāda d as *ri yi rta (orig. ri yis rta) or ri rta, "mountain horse." I follow Padminī on this contra Shong, Bu ston, and mKhas grub's rdo yi rta, "stone horse." See notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.163b.

Philological notes: In pāda d hanat (bsnun byed) is an odd form. It looks like a present active participle, but the Tibetan seems to take it as a future, which the context in any case requires. Cf. hanan in Śrī Kālacakra I.161a.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.160

At the time when hand (2) times age (4) descendents have passed within the lineage of Kalkī, the barbarian dharma will definitely be introduced in the land of Mecca. At the time of the vicious lord of the barbarians, at the time of Raudra Kalkī - saluted by the best of gods, at that time a fierce battle will occur on the abode of the surface of the earth.//

[The demonstration of the time of the origin of the barbarians: "At the time when hand (2) times age" - four, "sons" - Avalokita (i.e, Puṇḍarīka), "and grandsons" (Bu 44) from Bhadra through Subhadra - the eight, "have passed within," i.e., through, "the lineage of Kalkī" Mañjuśrī (Yaśas), when eight hundred years have elapsed after the passing of Yaśas, "the barbarian dharma will definitely," i.e., undoubtedly, "be introduced in the land of Mecca."

Then, at the end of the passing of "as many" lords of the barbarians as there will be, at the time of the appearance of the "vicious" protector of the "lords of the barbarians," after the appearance of Kalkīs equal to the number of barbarians, "Raudra Cakrī, saluted by the best of gods," will "also" appear.

"At that time a fierce battle will occur" between the

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barbarians and Kalkī Raudra in the land of Mecca "on the abode of the surface of the earth."]

Padminī (66/4/6-66/5/1) and mKhas grub (TC 1099/2-6) agree with Bu ston's annotations. However, Bu ston's explanation of pāda c seems to imply that Raudra Cakrī will be the eighth Kalkī after Subhadra (assuming there are eight "lords of the barbarians" as in Śrī Kālacakra I.154). I cannot make this fit into any version of the list of Kalkīs. mKhas grub's gloss on this pāda is somewhat opaque, but seems to support my reading of the correlatives yāvat...yāvat as merely showing simultaneity. Note the play on words in pādas cd: raudrakalkī...raudrayuddham.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.161

The cakravartin shall come out at the end of the age, from the city the gods fashioned on Mount Kailāsa. He shall smite the barbarians in battle with his own four-division army, on the entire surface of the earth. Rudra, Skanda, Gaṇendra, and Hari as well, shall befriend Kalkī, and so shall the mountain horses, the lords of elephants, the masters of men in gold chariots, and the warriors with weapons in hand.//

[The twenty-first topic: The emanation body "cakravartin shall come out at the end of the age, from the" supreme "city the gods fashioned on Mount Kailāsa. He shall smite the" army of "the barbarians in the battle" fought between Raudra's army and the barbarian army, with the Kalkī's "own four-division army," i.e., with elephants, chariots, horses, and infantry, "on the entire surface of the earth."

Regarding his uncommon entourage: "Rudra" - Īśvara (dbang phyug), "Skanda" (phung po = Skt. skandha [sic])-called 'Kumāra' (gzhon nu), "Gaṇendra" - Gaṇapati (tshogs bdag), "and Hari" - the Lion is Viṣṇu (khyab 'jug): these and the others of the twelve lords of the gods "as well, will befriend" the emanated king "Kalkī, and the stone horses, the lords of elephants," the crowned "masters of

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men in gold chariots, and the warriors with weapons in hand will also" befriend Kalkī.]

Padminī (66/5/1-4) adds nothing to Bu ston's annotations, and does not even comment on pādas cd.

mKhas grub (TC 1099/6-1100/4), on the other hand, does not comment on pādas ab. For pāda c mKhas grub repeats Bu ston's gloss of "Rudra" as Īśvara, i.e., Śiva. For "Skanda" Bu ston has taken Shong's gdong drug (= Ṣaṇmukha) out of the translation and replaced it with phung po (= skandha); this is a step backwards. However, his gloss "Kumāra" (gzhon nu) is correct. mKhas grub tells us that Ga rong lo tstsha ba translated skanda as smin drug (= Kārtikeya), and Gyi co as tshangs pa (= Brahmā). Gyi co is mistaken, Bu ston's translation is an erroneous etymology, and Shong and Ga rong's translations and Bu ston's gloss are all correct: Ṣaṇmukha, Kārtikeya, and Kumāra are all names or epithets of Skanda (cf. Apte 563). mKhas grub repeats Bu ston's gloss of "Gaṇendra" as Gaṇapati, i.e., Gaṇeśa. For "Hari" mKhas grub informs us that the Amarakośa counts Hari among the names of both Īśvara (Śiva) and Indra (brgya byin). However, he notes that Rudra has already been mentioned, so Hari may refer to Indra here. Then again, he says, "Hari" is a name for "lion," and Viṣṇu is also called "Hari" because he changed into a lion (i.e., as Narasiṃha). I assume Bu ston's

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gloss and mKhas grub's last suggestion are correct, and that Viṣṇu is meant by "Hari."

"The twelve lords of the gods" referred to in Bu ston's annotations are probably the twelve who occupy the cardinal and intermediate directions in the Kālacakra Body mandala (cf. Niṣpannayogāvalī 88-89; Bhattacharyya, B. [1949:81-82]).

Philological notes: For the anomalous form hanan in pāda a, see the notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.159d above. Here Bu ston seems to gloss it as an agent noun snun [par] byed [pa]; Shong reads: bsnun byed.

There is a lot of irregular Sanskrit in this verse. In pāda b the locatives -adrau and -pure should properly be declined in the ablative (BHSG 7.82). In pādas cd the accusatives rudraṃ...hariṃ and śailāśvān...bhaṭām should all be nominatives (BHSG 8.26, 8.85), and the verb, dāsyate, should be plural, not singular (BHSG 25.4, 25.18). For more on this see Newman (1988).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.162

The variegated mountain horses swift as wind shall be quality (3) times quality (3) ten millions (90,000,000). The elephants drunk with wine shall number "Veda" (4) hundred thousand. The chariots shall be element (5) hundred thousand. There shall be six great armies, and lords of men of taste (6) and ninety families bound with diadems. Kalkī, together with Hari and Hara, shall annihilate the barbarians with this army.//

[The general entourage: "The variegated stone horses swift as the wind," all "of various colors, shall be quality" - three, "times quality," i.e., nine, "ten millions." "The elephants drunk with wine shall number 'Veda' (4) hundred thousand. The chariots shall be element," i.e., five "hundred thousand. There shall be six great armies." The commentary on the Amarakośa (the Kāmadhenu?) explains a "great army" (akṣauhiṇī) in this way: One mahout, one charioteer, three cavalry, and five infantry are a patti; three of those are a senāmukham; three of those are a gulma; three of those are a gaṇa; three of those are a vāhinī; three of those are a pṛtanā; three of those are a camū; three of those are an anīkinī; ten of those are an akṣauhiṇī. (Note: The Tibetan transliteration of some of these terms is corrupt; the

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Skt. in the preceding is taken from Apte 11; cf. MW 4). (Bu 45) (Six great armies) have six million (sa ya) infantry (dpung bu chung) or foot-soldiers. Rwa says six billion (ther 'bum).

"There shall be lords of men of taste (6) and ninety families bound with diadems. Kalkī" Raudra "together with" his comrades "Hari and Hara," i.e., Īśvara and so forth, the twelve great gods, "shall annihilate" the horde of "barbarians with this army" consisting of a four-division host of forces.]

Padminī (66/5/4-7) adds nothing to Bu ston's annotations. mKhas grub (TC 1100/4-1102/1) mostly agrees with Bu ston, but he points out that the number of elephants in six akṣauhiṇīs calculated according to the method of the Amarakośa commentary falls far short of the number specified in pāda b. Without committing himself to any position, mKhas grub reports the opinion of "others" who calculate the six akṣauhiṇīs as only applying to the infantry. The number they arrive at is so large that even mKhas grub, usually a stickler for precision in detail, does not bother to give it in full.

In pāda d Bu ston's annotation seems to construe hariharasahito with sainyena. I follow the Skt. grammar, Padminī, and mKhas grub in taking it to modify kalkī.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.163

The supremely ferocious warriors shall smite the barbarian horde. The lords of elephants shall smite the elephants; the mountain horses shall smite the horses of Sind; the earth-lords shall smite the earth-lords in equal and unequal combat. Hanūmān, son of Mahācandra, shall smite Aśvatthāmā with sharp weapons. Rudra shall smite the protector of the barbarian lords, the master of all the demons. Raudra Kalkī shall smite Kṛṇmati.//

(U 155) [Furthermore, "the supremely ferocious," i.e, dreadful or heroic, "warriors" of Kalkī's entourage "shall smite the barbarian horde. The lords of elephants" shall smite the barbarian "elephants." "The stone horses shall smite the" barbarian "horses." The ninety-six "earth-lords" shall smite "the earth-lords" of the barbarian entourage "in equal and unequal combat" of the forces fighting. In Kalkī's entourage "Hanūmān, son of Mahācandra, shall smite" the barbarian general "Aśvatthāmā with sharp weapons." "Rudra" - Maheśvara, shall smite "the protector of the barbarian lords, the master of all the demons." "Raudra Kalkī" shall smite "Kṛnmati." It is a mistake to explain the master of the demons and Kṛnmati as being identical because they are explained as being separate in "The Chapter on the Soul."]

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This verse is saṃdhyābhāṣā. For explanation of its meaning see: Śrī Kālacakra II.48-50, Vimalaprabhā II.3.48-50; Vimalaprabhā V.3 (Bu 3.220/5-201/3).

Padminī (66/5/7-67/1/1) offers no help on this verse. (The text in the Peking edition looks extraordinarily corrupt; I have not examined the Derge.)

mKhas grub (TC 1102/1-1103/4) follows Bu ston closely. He explains the "equal and unequal" in pāda b as referring to battles between equal or unequal numbers of fighters. mKhas grub's transcript of Bu ston's annotations to pāda c construes mahācandrātanaya as modifying aśvatthāmaṃ (so does Shong). The placement of the key note (rigs ldan kyi 'khor) is somewhat ambiguous in Bu, but I think mKhas grub's transcript is in error. Bu ston seems to have changed Shong's zla ba chen po'i bu la to zla ba chen po'i bu ni so that it could be construed with ha nu manthas; this also accords with the grammar of the Sanskrit.

mKhas grub's explanation of pāda d augments that of Bu ston. He says that "Rudra" symbolizes the twelve great gods, whereas "the master of all the demons" indicates the chiefs of evil (nag po'i gtso bo) - the demonic ghosts who are friends of the barbarians.

Notes: In pāda d the Tibetans translate saindhavānām as rta rnams, "horses." Saindhava can indeed mean "horse"

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in general, but I prefer to take it in the sense of "a horse of Sind."

For kṛṇmati in pāda d, Shong has byed pa'i blo; Bu ston: byis pa'i blo; mKhas grub: byas pa'i blo (twice) and byis pa'i blo. Cf. notes on Mathanī in Śrī Kālacakra I.154 above.

Śrī Kālacakra I.164

Kalkī, with Hari and Hara, shall destroy the barbarians in battle by means of the entire army; then they shall go to the city the gods fashioned on Mount Kailāsa where Cakrī lives. At that time all the families of men on the earth shall be fulfilled with dharma, pleasure, and wealth. Grain shall grow in the wild and the trees shall bow with everlasting fruit - these things will occur.//

[King "Kalkī, with Hari and Hara" - Īśvara, "shall destroy" the horde of "barbarians" in unequal and equal "battle by means of the entire army" of Kalkī. "Then they shall go to the" good "city the gods fashioned on Mount Kailāsa," the place "where" the cakravartin king "Cakrī lives." Padminī (67/1/2) says they will go into the presence of Kālacakra.

The twenty-second topic, the way sentient beings will obtain siddhi: "At that time all the families of men on

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the earth," shall forsake nonvirtue, and "shall be fulfilled with" the karmas of the two accumulations- "dharma, pleasure, wealth," and, symbolized by those, liberation (Bu 46) - the fruits of the four aims of life (sde bzhi). "Grain shall grow" even "in the wild, and the" fruit "trees shall bow with everlasting fruit - these things will occur."]

Padminī (67/1/1-4) and mKhas grub (TC 1103/4-1104/2) add nothing material to Bu ston's annotations, but Padminī tells us that the two accumulations are the accumulation of merit (bsod nams) and the accumulation of gnosis (ye shes).

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Śrī Kālacakra I.165

Half the hundred years of man after eliminating the horde of barbarians together with their followers, Kalkī shall obtain siddhi in the palace the gods fashioned on the back of lofty Kailāsa. The sons of the guru of gods and men, the pair Brahmā and Sureśa, shall engage in the Dharma. Brahmā will be master of men in one section behind; Sureśa on the earth to the south.//

[Then, should you wonder how long Kalkī will remain: "Half the hundred years of man" - fifty, "after eliminating the horde of barbarians together with their followers..." Some say he will destroy the barbarians at age fifty. "Kalkī shall achieve" the mahāmudrā "siddhi." Regarding the place: "In the palace the gods fashioned on the back of lofty Kailāsa."

The twenty-third topic, the way Mañjuśrī and Lokeśvara will become teachers: "The sons of" Cakrī, "the guru of gods and men, Brahmā and Sureśa, shall become" teachers "in the pair (?) Dharma" the Buddha taught. Regarding that, "Brahmā" - Mañjuśrī, "will be master of men in one" continent-"section behind" this continent-section, and will teach the Dharma. "Sureśa" - Avalokita, who strives to eradicate the barbarian dharma, will teach the Dharma "on the entire earth (sa kun la)" in front.]

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Padminī (67/1/5-7) adds nothing to Bu ston's account. mKhas grub (TC 1104/2-1106/2) differs significantly from Bu ston. He notes that even though most scholars say pāda b refers to Cakrī's obtaining the mahāmudrā siddhi, this is unacceptable. Since Cakrī is Mañjuśrī, he had already obtained the supreme siddhi long before he appeared in Sambhala in order to destroy the barbarians. mKhas grub prefers to explain this pāda as referring to Cakrī "going to the place of siddhi," i.e., demonstrating passing into nirvana. This seems logical, but it does damage to the grammar of the Sanskrit; it also seems odd to equate Kalāpa with nirvana.

mKhas grub glosses yugma in pāda c as modifying the sons Brahmā and Sureśa (so does Shong); I follow this. Bu ston's modification of Shong's translation to make yugma modify dharma accords with the grammar of the Sanskrit, but makes no sense to me (perhaps zung gi in Bu is corrupt for zung ni).

mKhas grub's explanation of pāda d is clear and detailed. Brahmā, he says, will be master of men in the one section of the six sections that make up Small Jambūdvīpa (the Kailāsa section) that is behind, i.e., north of, the Śītā River. Sureśa will be master of men on the entire earth (sa kun la) in front of, i.e., south of,

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the Śītā River (see also notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.167 below).

Philological notes: The optative bhavetaṃ in pāda c and the indicative bhavati in pāda d are to be taken in the future tense, with the future participle vrajiṣyat in pāda b. It is odd to see indicative verbs in a prophecy.

Shong, Bu ston, and mKhas grub all translate savyabhūmyāṃ in pāda d (all MSS) as sa kun la. Banerjee (Über 218; Śrī Kālacakra [S]) emends the text to sarvabhūmyāṃ. If we read savya as "right" or "southern," we can retain the reading of the MSS without contradicting the intent of the commentators. Cf. notes to Śrī Kalacakra I.151c.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.166

The guru of the three existences shall cut off the entire barbarian dharma at the right of the Complete age. Then, having stayed for eight hundred years, and having established Brahma, he shall go to the place of bliss. O master of men, the caste division of the sons shall again occur within that very (Brahmā's line). Among them there shall be lords of demons, masters of men, sages, and other, ordinary men.//

[If (one reads -savyān) as "the right section," (it means) the front section. Or, if (one reads it) in accordance with this (Shong) translation, "at the junction" of the commencement "of the Complete age" - the end of the Kali age, "the guru of the three existences"- the great cakravartin, "shall cut off all" those cherishing "the barbarian dharma" in the rear section. "Then, having cut off" the barbarians who spread the dharma, the great cakravartin will remain for a period of "eight hundred years." Alternately, one could construe it as, 'he will establish Brahmā as the Dharma teacher for eight hundred years.' After that, "having established Brahmā" as the Dharma teacher, "he" himself "shall go to the place of bliss." Padminī (67/1/7) says that the barbarians will appear after eight hundred years.

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"O master of men," the many different "caste divisions of the sons" of Kāśyapa, Nārasiṃha, and so forth, "shall again occur within that very" Brahmā's (line), i.e., from his lineage. "Among them," i.e., at intervals, in accordance with the times, "there shall be lords of demons," i.e., barbarians, "masters of men, sages," i.e., ṛṣis, together with "other, ordinary" barbarians. (Bu 47) Alternately, (one could read it as saying) Dharma Kings who will rule even the demons and sages, who are ordinary - not emanation bodies, will appear in their line.]

Padminī's (67/1/7) only comment on this verse is that after the noble Dharma has spread for eight hundred years, the barbarian dharma will spread due to the force of time.

mKhas grub (TC 1106/2-1107/4) explains pādas ab as follows: Kalkī Raudra Cakrī will cut off the continuity of the barbarian dharma at the junction of the Complete age of Cakrī - at the end of the former Kali age. Having cut it off, he will place his son Brahmā on the throne of Kalāpa for eight hundred years. Then Cakrī will go the place of great bliss. mKhas grub rejects the view that pāda b says Cakrī will remain eight hundred years, because Śrī Kālacakra I.153c clearly states that his lifespan will be one hundred years (however, see note thereon).

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mKhas grub agrees with Bu ston on pāda c, and notes that Cakrī's other son, Sureśa, is not mentioned here because he is the teacher south of the Śītā River; thus he is not counted in the dynasty of Sambhala. mKhas grub repeats Bu ston almost verbatim in pāda d, giving the same two alternative interpretations as Bu ston. I have translated the pāda in accordance with the former interpretation, as this idea seems to follow from the point about the "caste division" in pāda c.

Philological notes: The Tibetan translators take kṛtsavyān in pāda a as meaning "at the junction of the Complete age" (rdzogs ldan mtshams su); this interpretation makes good sense, but there is no support for it in the MSS (see Bu ston's annotation). In pāda a gurukaḥ is an aberrant form, probably lengthened m.c. I have translated sthitvā and the rest of pāda b in accordance with the Sanskrit. Bu ston and mKhas grub's comments, and Shong and Bu both translate it as bcad nas, "having cut off." I cannot see any justification for such a translation. The brāhmaṇaṃ in pāda b would read brahmāṇaṃ in regular Sanskrit. Finally, once again we have indicative verbs in a prophecy: vrajati in b, bhavati in c, bhavanti in d.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.167

The master of the gods joined with the twelve lords shall go to destroy the barbarians. And having destroyed the barbarian dharma in all the sections, Cakrī shall go to the place of bliss. Brahmā and Sureśa, the sons of the guru of gods and men, shall be behind and in front. In back on the surface of the variegated earth the lineages of Brahmā and so forth shall become divided into many.//

["The master of the gods," the cakravartin, "joined with the twelve lords" - the twelve great gods or the lords of the twelve sections, "shall go to destroy the barbarians" in whatever continent-section the barbarians reside. "And having destroyed the barbarian dharma in all the sections," the destroyer "Cakrī shall go to the place of bliss." "Brahmā [KA] and Sureśa [1], the sons of the guru of gods and men" - the cakravartin who is an emanation of Buddha - shall teach the Dharma in the section "behind [KHA]" and the section "in front [2]." "In the back" section "on the surface of the variegated earth the lineages of Brahmā," Kāśyapa, "and so forth shall become divided into many."]

Padminī (67/1/7) does not comment on this verse. mKhas grub (1107/4-1108/2) differs from Bu ston somewhat on the interpretation of the last half of the verse.

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On pādas ab mKhas grub asserts that pāda b specifies that Cakrī will destroy the barbarian dharma in all twelve sections. Some Tibetan scholars apparently held that Cakrī would only destroy the barbarian dharma in Small Jambūdvīpa, and that his descendants would finish the job in the other eleven sections of Great Jambūdvīpa.

On pādas cd mKhas grub holds that Brahmā and Sureśa will respectively teach the Dharma in a section (dum bu) behind (north) and in front (south) of the Śītā River (see his and Bu ston's comments on Śrī Kālacakra I.165 above). Bu ston takes the "section" (khaṇḍa; dum bu) in Śrī Kālacakra I.165d as referring to a "continent-section" (gling gi dum bu) behind, i.e., north of, the continent-section Small Jambūdvīpa. I do not see any easy resolution to this question because "section," khaṇḍa, is ambiguous: there are twelve "sections," or continents, making up Great Jambūdvīpa, and Small Jambūdvīpa (the southern-most continent in Great Jambūdvīpa) is divided into six sections.

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Śrī Kālacakra I.168

There are eighteen hundred human years during Brahmā and so forth, and these are the lifespans of men: half of that during Kāśyapa, and half during Nārasiṃha on the surface of the excellent earth. Likewise, it diminishes by sixty during each age under Vāmana and so forth, of Hari, until at the end of Kalkī human life amounts to one hundred years.//

[The twenty-fourth topic, demonstrating the measure of "human" life in the lineage of "Brahmā," Kāśyapa, "and so forth": At the time of Brahmā humans "possess eighteen hundred years" - live to be eighteen hundred. "This is the lifespan of men" during that time. "Half of that," nine hundred, is the human lifespan during the time of "Kāśyapa." "Half" of that, four hundred and fifty, is the human lifespan during the time "of splendid Nārasimha on the surface of the excellent earth." "Likewise" that "diminished by sixty" - three hundred and ninety, is the measure of human life during the time "of each age under Vāmana." The words "and so forth" indicate (that the lifespans during) the two Rāmas and Kṛṣṇa also decrease by sixty from that of the preceding one. "Hari" is Viṣṇu. "Until the end of Kalkī human life amounts to one hundred years."]

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Padminī (67/1/7-67/2/2) is once again the source for Bu ston's annotations, and adds nothing to his account.

mKhas grub (TC 1108/1-1110/3) presents a different interpretation of pāda a and, consequently, of the entire verse. He rejects the view that the "eighteen hundred human years" in pāda a refers to the human lifespan under Brahmā (and thus he also rejects the numbers arrived at by Padminī and Bu ston using eighteen hundred as the basis of calculation). mKhas grub says the entire four ages of the Buddhadharma to be established by Raudra Cakrī will only last eighteen hundred years. Padminī and Bu ston's interpretation would entail that the Dharma Raudra establishes will be exhausted at the end of Brahmā's reign; this, mKhas grub says, is unacceptable.

mKhas grub takes the "eighteen hundred human years" in pāda a as referring to the measure of the four ages of Cakrī that will occur during the reigns of "Brahmā, and so forth" - i.e., all the kings from Brahmā through Kṛṣṇa. "Half of that," i.e., nine hundred years, is the measure of human lifespan during the reigns of Brahmā and Kāśyapa. Then, human lifespan will gradually diminish by units of sixty during the reigns of Matsya, Kūrma, and Varāha, until it reaches four hundred and fifty years under Nārasiṃha. This process continues under Vāmana, Yāmadagni (Paraśurāma), and Rāma until human lifespan amounts to a

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mere one hundred years under Kṛṣṇa. The end of Kṛṣṇa's reign will be simultaneous with the end of the four ages of the Dharma established by Raudra Cakrī (thus pāda d's kalkyantam).

mKhas grub glosses "Hari" in pāda c as Viṣṇu (khyab 'jug), like Bu ston, but once again he takes pains to emphasize that the kings in Kalkī's lineage "have the names of the individual incarnations of Viṣṇu" (cf. notes to Śrī Kālacakra I.153).

I have followed mKhas grub's interpretation of pāda a in my translation because I think his point about the number of years in Cakrī's four ages is well taken. However, mKhas grub's reading applied to the Sanskrit is forced, and even if we accept it I do not see how so many generations of such longevity can be fit into an eighteen hundred year period.

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Thus, in all the sections as well the barbarian dharma is introduced at the time of the age. It definitely endures for eighteen hundred years, and then the barbarian dharma is destroyed. Then the Buddhadharma is introduced for twenty thousand years less hand (2) hundred. The Complete, Trey, Deuce, and Kali ages definitely move on the earth through the measure of the shakti.//

(U 156) ["Thus," not only in one continent-section, "in all the sections as well the barbarian dharma is introduced at the time" of strife (i.e., the Kali age) at the end of the four "ages." Having been introduced, the barbarian dharma "definitely endures for eight and one hundred" - one hundred and eight - "years." "Then" gradually "the barbarian dharma is destroyed."

The (duration) of the (Buddha) doctrine on one continent-section is one thousand, eight hundred years. "Then the Buddhadharma is introduced" in the other eleven continent-sections during the remaining "twenty thousand years less hand (2) hundred," i.e., two hundred - nineteen thousand, eight hundred years. Thus, the measure of the doctrine's "Complete, Trey, Deuce, and Kali ages definitely moves" and revolves "on the" twelve continent-section of the "earth through the measure" of one solar

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day "of the shakti," the Akaniṣṭha gods - twenty-one thousand, six hundred human years.]

Padminī (67/2/2-4) adds nothing to Bu ston, and seems to have completely misread pāda c.

mKhas grub (TC 1110/3-1111/4) differs from Bu ston. In pāda b he chooses to read -aṣṭaikaṃ śataṃ in accordance with Shong's translation brgyad dang gcig gi brgyar instead of following Bu ston's modification brgyad dang brgya phrag gcig tu (supported by Padminī). mKhas grub then takes this expression in the same way the "number symbols" are read: he reverses the order of the eight and the one, and multiplies by the hundred. The resultant eighteen hundred is the duration of the barbarian dharma. I follow mKhas grub on this point because it seems impossible that the barbarian dharma should only last one hundred and eight years - this would contradict the quantity of "the year of the lord of the barbarians" (Śrī Kālacakra I.26-27), to mention just one problem.

mKhas grub also differs from Bu ston on the interpretation of pādas cd. Bu ston seems to say that the nineteen thousand, eight hundred years in pāda c indicates that the four ages occur first in one continent-section for eighteen hundred years, then in the next continent-section for eighteen hundred years, and so on through the

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twelve continent-sections. This entire process takes twenty-one thousand, six hundred years.

mKhas grub does not accept this. His view is that the four ages occur simultaneously in all twelve continent-sections. Thus, by combining the eighteen hundred years of the four ages of each continent-section into a single number, one arrives at twenty-one thousand, six hundred years - the measure of a solar day of a "shakti," a god of Akaniṣṭha (cf. Śrī Kālacakra I.24).

Śrī Kālacakra I.170

The generation of the cosmos, the origination of Cakrī together with the motions of the planets, the destruction of the barbarians' dharma, and Kalkī's gift of the path to the place of supreme bliss: I have described all this to you as it is. O Sucandra, what further from among the three times do you ask me, to benefit all mankind, and for the sake of liberation?//

The First Chapter: The Arrangement of the Cosmos, from the Śrī Kālacakra that was extracted from the Śrīmad Ādibuddha.[12]

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[12] Tib. assumes śrīmahādibuddha.

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[The summation of the first chapter and the exhortation to request the later (chapters): "The generation of the" outer "cosmos, the motions of the" circle of "planets" and stars in the twelve houses, and "together with," i.e., similar to, that, "the origination of" the cakravartin "Cakrī" in the twelve regions of the earth, "the destruction of the barbarians' dharma, and Kalkī's gift of the" mahāmudrā "path to the place of supreme bliss: I have described all this to you" Sucandra "as it is," without making errors in the many subjects. "O Sucandra, what further" subjects arising "from among the three times" - the past, present, and future - "do you" Sucandra "ask me" Śākyamuni - i.e., ask whatever you desire - "for the" worldly "benefit of all mankind, and for the sake of" transcendental "liberation?"]

Padminī (67/2/4-7) construes grahacaraṇasamā in pāda a with utpattir lokadhātor, but I follow Bu ston and mKhas grub who take it as modifying sambhavaś cakriṇaś ca. Bu ston's note to pāda d ['jig rten gyi] looks like it comments on skye bo, but Padminī writes 'jig rten gyi phan pa. I follow this because it makes more sense and agrees with mKhas grub's gloss 'phral gyi phan pa, "temporary benefit."

mKhas grub (TC 1111/4-1112/2) agrees with Bu ston's interpretation of this verse. However, he (TC 1112/2-4)

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gives a somewhat different explanation of why this section of the chapter (Śrī Kālacakra I.150-170) has been left as "easily understandable" and is not commented on in the Vimalaprabhā. mKhas grub notes that the main subject of these verses is Cakrī's destruction of the barbarians and establishment of the Buddhadharma. From among the three- the Outer, Inner, and Other - it belongs to the Other. Thus, it is not included among the ten brief accounts whose main subject is the Outer.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Apte	The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary; see Apte (1957).
B	manuscript B.
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary; see Edgerton (1953).
BHSG	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar; see Edgerton (1953).
'Bro	'Bro Shes rab grags's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
Bu	Śrī Kālacakra (T) and Vimalaprabhā (T).
D	manuscript D.
DAS	A Tibetan-English Dictionary; see Das (1902).
Derge	see Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan.
Gyi	Gyi jo Zla ba'i 'od zer's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
Ma	rMa dGe ba'i blo gros's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
Mhvy	Mahāvyutpatti; see Sakaki (1970).
MSS	manuscripts B, N, and D.
MW	A Sanskrit-English Dictionary; see Monier-Williams (1899).
N	manuscript N.
NS	Nāmasaṃgīti.
dPang	dPang bLo gros brtan pa's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
Peking	see Bibliography of Works in Sanskrit and Tibetan.
Rwa	Rwa Chos rab's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
Shong	Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan's translation of the Śrī Kālacakra and the Vimalaprabhā as represented in Bu ston's annotations and Peking.
TC	rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po bcom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo...(Dus 'khor ṭīk chen).
Tsa mi	Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa's translation of the Vimalaprabhā.
TSD	Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary; see Chandra (1959).
U	Vimalaprabhā (SU).
Über	Über das Lokadhātu Patala; see Banerjee (1959).
[...]	Bu ston's annotations to Bu.
(...)	Newman's annotations to the English translation.

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MAJOR PROFESSOR Geshe Sopa

MAJOR Buddhist Studies

MINOR Distributed

NAME John Ronald Newman

PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH Orange, California September 7, 1954

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES: YEARS ATTENDED AND DEGREES

University of Wisconsin-Madison 1975-1980 B.A.

University of Wisconsin-Madison 1980-1987 Ph.D.

MEMBERSHIPS IN LEARNED OR HONORARY SOCIETIES Phi Beta Kappa, American Oriental Society

PUBLICATIONS "The Paramādibuddha (the Kālacakra mūlatantra) and Its Relation to the Early Kālacakra Literature" Indo-Iranian Journal 30 (1987) pp. 93-102.

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